NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 13, NO. 30 NEW YORK, MAY 8, 1961

CEDRIC BELFRAGE FROM HAVANA

# 'Operation Pluto': Castro tells why the invasion failed

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

ON THE SUNDAY following the invasion fiasco here, Fidel Castro delivered over all TV and radio stations a most extraordinary speech by a victorious leader to his people. Speaking extemporaneously all afternoon before a map, without a hint of boastfulness but on a note of sadness for the horror and stupidity of war, he told and analyzed every detail of what had occurred.

He disclosed that:

• Cuba had been tipped off to the imminence of invasion by reports of concentrated shipments of arms and men to Guatemala. A number of ships spotted approaching Baracoa, at the eastern tip of Cuba, on April 15 caused land forces in that area to be alerted. The ships did not land and subsequently were identified as decoys for a "sham" landing designed to draw Cuban defenses away from the area where the landing was finally undertaken.

• Cuba had six "old but serviceable" planes—two jets, two Seafuries, two B-26's. There were no MIG's ("Would that we had a few MIG's in those days" Castro remarked.) Cuba's usable planes were completely dispersed, no two together on any field and none on the Havana Rebel Air Force (FAR) field which was bombed and strafed with two other Cuban fields in an attempt to destroy Cuba's meager air force prior to the invasion which began on the early morning of April 17. Of the six attacking planes, two to each field attacked, "some got back full of holes, and some didn't get back. Our aviation remained ready and intact, and we still had more planes than pilots."

• The invaders' supplies, packed in cases marked with a color code, totalled 2,446.8 tons, including 72 tons of arms and ammunition for guerrilla and friendly forces expected to join the invaders.

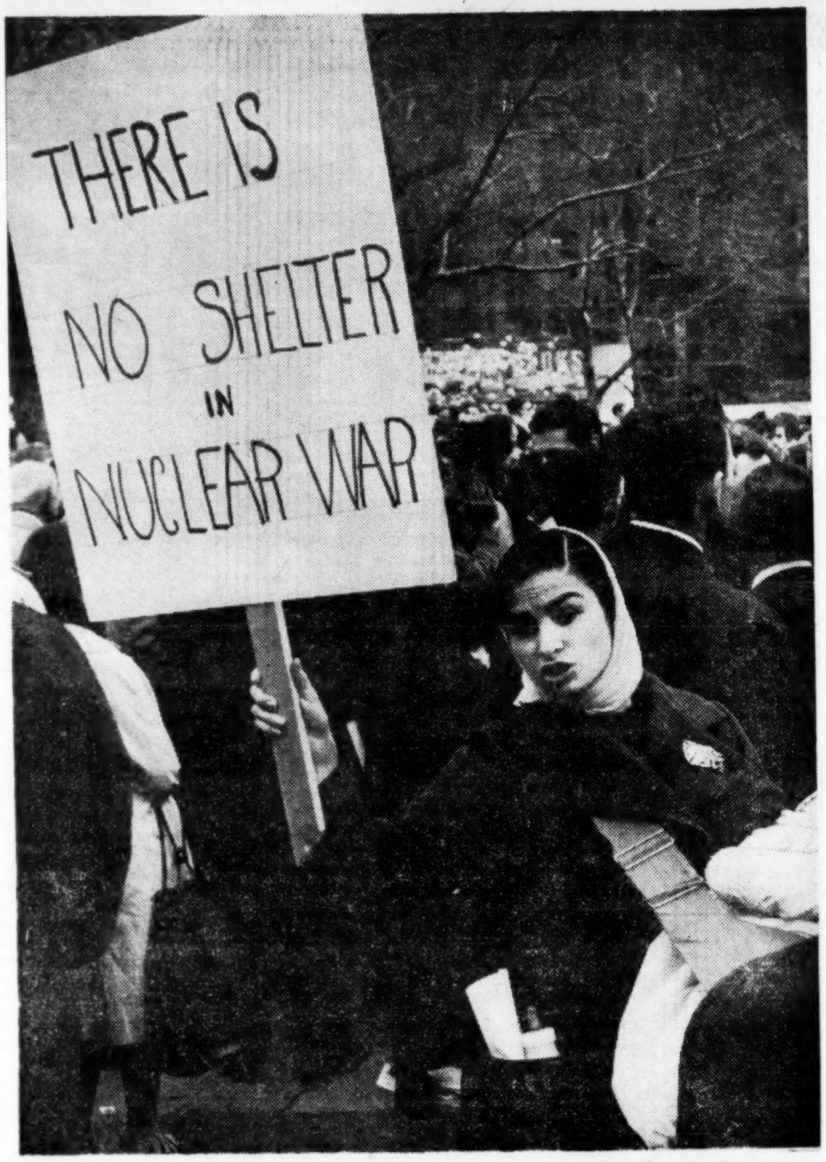
• Captured invasion plans, bearing the hallmark of Pentagon armchair strategists, referred to the assault as Operation Pluto. Some of the plans had not yet been translated into Spanish. They covered the operation from "D-Day minus 7" when embarcation was to begin, through the "H-hour" functions of each unit on "Blue Beach" and "Green Beach" and parachutists dropped inland, to the disposal of supplies up to "D plus 30" and beyond.

Castro began his address by explaining why war is endemic to the capitalist-imperialist system, which now in the atomic age hopes to ease its self-made economic crises through "local wars." Since Cuba's chosen path threatens the profits and power of a few under this inefficient system, the U.S. had used various forms of aggression to try to smash Cuba. The denial of oil, suppression of the sugar quota and economic blockade were frustrated by the socialist countries' aid. Then, he said, the U.S. stepped up its organization and supplying of counterrevolutionary terrorists in Cuba.

They had hoped to fake up a pretext for direct aggression out of a Cuban "attack" on Guantanamo, but Cuba's careful legalistic approach to the question had ruled that out. Able in the end to count only on Latin America's most corrupted governments—Guatemala and

(Continued on Page 6)

Nils Hammarstroem in Ny Dag, Stockholm




Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

**A YOUNG MOTHER PROCLAIMS THE FACTS OF LIFE**

*She was in the civil defense protest at New York's City Hall*

DARK DAYS ON THE NEW FRONTIER

# Gloom and frustration grip capital following Cuba fiasco

By Russ Nixon

Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

A MOOD of gloom and frustration has settled on Washington. No one in the government is happy. There is no dash on the New Frontier. The grim tone is set by President Kennedy's repeated warnings that "things will get worse before they get better," and that "sacrifices" will be necessary.

The Cuba fiasco has been shattering. Neither Republicans nor Democrats can find an easy path away from their complicity in this devastating blow to the nation's power and prestige. This fact, plus inability to find an escape from the international political swamps that followed defeat of the CIA invaders, explains the almost unbroken silence of the 537 members of Congress in the two weeks following the invasion.

But the Cuban debacle is only one of a host of painful and perplexing problems plaguing Congress.

**LEADERLESS:** There is the gloomy fact that even while the recession ebbs, huge unemployment remains and there is no vital economic-political program in the works to reverse the deep stagnation of the economy. The myth of our national ethic is being destroyed by revelations

(Continued on Page 10)

OUR ANNUAL EXERCISE IN MAKE-BELIEVE

# 3,000 protest Civil Defense Day in New York City

By Robert E. Light

AIR RAID SIRENS wailed across the country at 4 p.m. on April 28 in celebration of Civil Defense Day, an annual exercise in make-believe. TV screens went blank and radio stations fell silent except for CONELRAD channels which carried President Kennedy's recorded voice assuring the panicky that the "war" was only pretend.

In New York CD officials pretended that two nuclear bombs were to fall and they asked the city's population to evacuate to non-existent shelters. In Philadelphia cars were halted but pedestrians were allowed to go on their way. Only government employes and school children were asked to take "shelter" in Washington. Elsewhere only CD personnel was expected to participate.

To Frank B. Ellis, recently appointed director of Civil Defense and Mobilization, Operation Alert-1961 "proved that our national warning system is fast and reliable." But to most it proved a nuisance. And to a growing number it proved a cruel hoax designed to persuade Americans that shelters provide a defense against nuclear war.

**THE DEFIANT ONES:** More people openly defied the drill than ever before. More than 3,000 persons in New York refused to take cover, despite a possible jail sentence under the state Civil Defense Act. College students in the Northeast organized sit-down demonstrations. By the latest count as the GUARDIAN went to press, 127 persons were arrested, 64 of them in New York.

When the sirens sounded New York's Mayor Robert Wagner and CD director Robert E. Condon stood in Times Square with walkie-talkies strapped to their shoulders. CD officials and police stopped traffic and shoved all pedestrians into doorways to simulate their evacuation to shelters, if there were shelters.

(Continued on Page 4)

*In this issue*

JFK AND THE PRESS
Report to Readers . . . . p. 2
GENERALS VS. PEOPLE
The issue in France . . . p. 3
THE CUBA 'SOLUTION'
Is Laos next? . . . . . . . p. 5
THE INVADERS
A story in pictures . . pp. 6-7
HISTORY ON ITS HEAD
A book review . . . . . . . p. 9
UN-CIVIL DEFENSE
See the Spectator . . . . p. 12

## THE MAIL BAG

### The Cuba story

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

New schools, hospitals, clinics, new housing, more rural doctors and medical aides, government food distribution centers, government hygienists and dietitians, government organized and supervised collective farms, cooperatives and planned rotation of new crops.

Today, the Cuban campesino has been given a new lease on life and, for the first time in history, the promise of a much better way of life. Also, the right to defend his homeland, the right to a better education for himself and his children, the right to a free voice in the first people's government in the entire history of the Republic of Cuba.

Is it any wonder that many Cuban campesinos end their nightly prayers with the words "Gracias Fidel"?

**Reginald E. Carles**

•

TIOGA, PA.

The People yes—the Pentagon NO!

For peace on earth 'tis better so.

**Maurice Becker**

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

There was a wing-ding of a Cuban - American Friendship Fiesta here April 8, sponsored by the West Side Branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. About 400 people came, evenly divided between Latin Americans and non-Latins.

Puerto Rican radio star "Bebe" Colon spoke in support of Cuba's sovereignty and economic progress. The climax was the appearance of Jose Pulido, Mexican film star, who made a moving address in support of the Cuban revolution.

There hasn't been a social affair like this one here in years. Venceremos.

**Dick Criley**

•

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The Northern California Regional Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in annual session in Palo Alto, Calif., April 15, 1961, sent the following telegram to Mr. Kennedy, Secy. Dean Rusk, Adlai Stevenson, et al:

"We support your clear statement that the United States will not, under any circumstances, invade our neighbor country Cuba.

"Shocked by today's news, we urge as well that you issue an equally unequivocal assurance that the United States will

"1. Give no military training or aid to the Cuban refugees;

"2. Take no part in the political activities of the Cuban refugees;

"3. Refrain from all unilateral action, working only through the OAS;

"4. Lift existing economic sanctions against Cuba;

"5. Permit persons to travel freely between the two countries."

**Bernice E. Harding**
Legislative Chairman

•

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BALTIMORE (AP) — A soldier may kill in time of war, but for him to kill in the spirit of hatred "is not the proper Christian attitude," a Roman Catholic priest said Sunday night. Very Rev. Francis J. Connell, C. SS. R., a former dean of Catholic University in Washington, D.C., said Catholics may not justifiably become pacifists or conscientious objectors.

—Oklahoma City **Times**, April 17

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L.M., Oklahoma City, Okla.

REGO PARK, N.Y.

As a delegate to the recent Latin American conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in Mexico City, I wish to commend the GUARDIAN for its excellent article on the conference. It will help GUARDIAN readers explain to others the feelings, aspiration and determination of the Latin American people to fight and regain their independence.

To complement the GUARDIAN article on the Latin American Conference, I am available for speaking engagements on the conference at any time. Organizations wishing such a speaker can reach me at 97-07 63rd Road, Rego Park, N.Y.

**Julius Margolin**

### Dies and the ACLU

PALISADES, N.J.

In his first annual report Martin Dies, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, named the American Civil Liberties Union and the American League for Peace and Democracy, originally the League Against War and Fascism, as subversive organizations. I was chairman of both. Roger Baldwin, director of ACLU, was on the board of the American League. It was at his suggestion, and with the consent of the ACLU board, on the ground that the work of the League against facism and for democracy was a joint interest, that I accepted its chairmanship.

Both organizations requested a hearing on Dies' charge. It was granted, and I was appointed to represent each in turn. The Dies' Committee counsel set a date for the League hearing but not for the ACLU. As I was thinking over my tactics it occurred to me that under the First Amendment questions concerning political opinions and beliefs are unconstitutional. I called Arthur Garfield Hays, the ACLU counsel (Morris Ernst was also), and put the question to him. He said, "Give me twenty-four hours." The next day he called me and said, "You're right." I said, "If I refuse to answer on that ground will you support me?" He replied, "I will." A day or two before the hearing he called again and said: "I think you will be on stronger ground if you wait for our hearing to stand on the constitutional issue because the American League is a united front, with Communist Party members included." I said, "If I agree will you continue to support me?" He answered, "I will."

Consequently, when Dies asked me, "What is your attitude toward Communism?", I said, "I will answer that question, but first I want to put in the record that I think you have no constitutional right to ask it."

The opportunity to make that test never came because the ACLU hearing was made unnecessary by an announcement from Dies that the ACLU was not a subversive organization. This came not long after the meeting described in Dies' letter to Corliss Lamont (GUARDIAN, April 17) in which Ernst and Hays participated.

As Corliss Lamont reported, the ACLU minutes merely show briefly that Ernst and Hays reported their recent conversation with Dies about the promised hearing. This was before the Dies announcement that removed the charge against the ACLU.

On the one occasion when I had an opportunity to raise with Hays the question of what went on at the meeting with Dies he sidetracked it by starting to talk about another matter.

**(Rev.) Harry F. Ward**

Lancaster London Daily Express

**"Heavens, how I'd have laughed if it had turned out to be Mrs. Fidel Castro!"**

### The art of Bergman

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Ingmar Bergman is a major creator and his works are worthy of analysis. However, Charles Humboldt in his review of the screenplays (April 10), has given us not analysis, but an attempt to translate his positive response to Bergman's work into a justification of that work in terms of oversimple, extraneous and mechanical progressivism.

The symbols in **Smiles of a Summer Night** and **The Seventh Seal** owe their effect to the brilliantly detailed and consistent characterization and motivation; in short, to the truth, which is always human and, in the profoundest manner, progressive. Equally, the growing alienation from reality and causality reflected in the more cynical **The Magician** cannot be understood if the viewer willingly substitutes an arbitrary symbolic scheme for verifiable reality.

The critic, even more consciously than the creator, must remember that truth is derived from a vigorous inspection of the concrete. The truth which validates any significant work of art is ultimately on the side of mankind; we need not attribute to its individual originator a commitment he dreams not of.

**David S. Laulicht**

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS who have no quarrel with anybody were excluded from the "Great Debate" raging last week in Washington. The Senate investigation of Far Eastern policy found both sides preaching holy war against "communism" (i.e., the socialist half of the world). The New York **Times** conceded it was not even the "grand strategy" of this war but simply its "tactics" that "is really being debated."

The people's disgust with the Korean war and demand for peace were being blunted and diverted into a sham debate over the timing of World War III; just as earlier popular outcry to get out of Korea and withdraw from Europe was answered with the "Great Debate" over choice of World War III's battlefields.

**—From the National Guardian, May 9, 1951**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES ARONSON, *Editor* — CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (Havana), Gordon Schaffer (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Phyllis Rosner (Rome), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

Vol. 13, No. 30 401 May 8, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

# The present danger

THE VOICE THAT ADDRESSED the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. in New York April 27 was the voice of President John F. Kennedy—but the "F" in his name seemed to stand for Foster. "We are opposed around the world," the new Brinksman said, "by a monolithic and ruthless conspiracy." There is a "deadly challenge to our survival . . . Our way of life is under attack" . . . "I can only say that the danger has never been more clear and its presence has never been more imminent."

In the face of this "grave and total" challenge, he asked "every editor and every newsman in the nation to reexamine his own standards, and to recognize the nature of our country's peril." He said: "Every newspaper now asks itself, with respect to every story, 'Is it news?' All I suggest is that you add the question: 'Is it in the interest of national security?' "

In time of war, he said, the newspapers have joined in an effort to prevent disclosures that would help the enemy. In times of clear and present danger, the courts have recognized that "the privileged rights of the First Amendment must yield to the public's need for national security." This is Frankfurter's new "balance" theory, Black, Brennan, Douglas and Warren dissenting, in the Barenblatt case.

Under this 5-4 aegis, Kennedy called upon the press to exercise self-restraint in fighting the "fierce struggle" in which we are engaged—"no war ever posed a greater threat to our security" —and to reexamine its responsibilities.

THERE WAS LITTLE DOUBT in the minds of most of his listeners that his remarks were aimed at the New York **Times** and a precious few other newspapers which had—largely after the fact —detailed the complicity of our government in the disastrous Cuban adventure. Nor was there any doubt that he was saying to the nation's publishers: There is no room for argument on U.S. policy today. The government makes policy and if you do not support it, you are at best a dupe of the enemy, at worst a traitor. We in Washington will decide what is in the interest of national security. If you have any questions, just ask us, then censor yourself to suit—we don't want to be censors.

For the most part the publishers' reaction to his remarks was more hurt than concerned. They did indeed have little argument with government policy, and of course they were willing to exercise restraint. But why was it necessary for the President to air these things in public, especially as they involved an industry which has for years been exercising praiseworthy censorship on news from half the world, in the cause of Our Way of Life?

IT IS ONLY TOO OBVIOUS that the press of the United States hardly requires a lecture from the President—one need look no further than the Cuba story for the masterpiece of journalistic distortion in modern history. Why then did the President feel the need to make it? Why did he solicit the public endorsement of General Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Harry Truman, Herbert Hoover and—save the Mark!—General MacArthur for a fiasco?

The answer would seem to be that John F. Kennedy is a man who cannot or will not admit to an error; that once embarked on a wrong-way course he will pursue it with the singleness of purpose which carried him into the White House. And he doesn't brook "No" for an answer.

If this indeed is the case then the responsibility of the press is to throw off all restraint and to say "No" good and loud. For the clear and present danger is not the un-named international conspiracy but the policy of the President and his Administration which threatens to go from one disaster in Cuba to another in Laos and wherever else emerging colonial peoples insist on the right to determine their own future in their own interest.

For a left-over State Department press officer to be permitted to say—in response to a more than generous offer by Havana to negotiate—that "communism in the Western hemisphere is not negotiable," is both arrogant and ludicrous.

The issue is not communism—here or anywhere else. The issue is the economic self-determination of all people.

Alone among the big papers, the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** spoke up to the President clearly and sharply. For the press to submit itself to a system of voluntary censorship under the direction of the government, it said, "would undermine the essential role of the press, which is to inform, interpret and criticize."

A praying man would say Amen—anyway, let's get on with the job.

**—THE GUARDIAN**

THE FOUR INSURGENT GENERALS—AND WHAT HAPPENED

# New unity on Left worries De Gaulle more than the fascists

**THE NIGHT THAT PARIS COULD LOOK AT ITSELF AGAIN WITH RESPECT AND PRIDE**

*These young volunteers sought arms to repel a looked-for invasion, but they got none*

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE ACTORS were not all the same, but the roles were, and so was the plot. The new Algerian military putsch was much like the preceding one — the barricades week of January, 1960. Ironically, once again (only more openly so) the Army that had raised De Gaulle to power—and to which he is closely tied by sentiment, background and conviction—was ready to overthrow him.

And once again (only more forcefully so), the trade unions and the left wing parties that had voted against De Gaulle, came—needed but largely unwelcome—to the rescue of the Fifth Republic. Now that the putsch is over, the strength and new cohesion of the left seems to worry the government more than the insurgent generals.

How the putsch came about is no mystery. It has often been said that a general who accepts power from the hands of an insurgent army (as De Gaulle did in May, 1958) throws open the door to a succession of new army coups. The theory was quickly confirmed by reality.

In the 1960 barricades week, the Army (colonels) merely lent a hand. This time,

Dyad, London Daily Worker

**Voila! No visible means of support**

the Army (generals) made up the brains and arms of the putsch. Neither had cause for discouragement. In the recent barricades trial, the officers implicated came away lightly. Some were given new assignments outside Algeria. Others were given medals. "The government," said the independent **Le Monde**, "has often covered them with honors, more rarely punished them."

**THEIR FRIENDS:** There can be no doubt that the Algiers insurgents had friends in high places in Paris. The pro-government **France Soir** on April 25 reported that De Gaulle was "scandalized by the facility with which many high-ranking military could travel across France and Algeria and prepare their plot with impunity." They went so far as to hold "revolutionary councils" right in Paris government buildings, apparently without the knowledge of any of the government intelligence services.

The technique of the coup d'etat today calls for more brains than troops. Take the strategic points of a town or a region, and it is yours. This is how, on Sunday afternoon, April 23, the second day of the putsch, it became clear in Paris that a handful of high officers actually controlled most of Algeria. The four insurgent generals had moreover relied on a time-honored dictum: "The Army does not open fire on the Army." They were right. Many reluctant officers gave Paris to understand they were willing to honor government orders but unwilling to fire upon other French troops.

**WHAT THEY WANTED:** Where did the insurgents want to go? There probably was no unity of view among them as to goals, and the means of obtaining them. Some apparently would have been content to control Algeria, cancelling out De Gaulle's self-determination scheme and guaranteeing a perennial "Algérie Francaise." Others felt the putsch had to be carried onto French soil or face extinction. Still others saw insurgent Algeria as a vast African springboard, perhaps with parallel movements to begin in other likely spots of the continent.

As for action in France, landing paratroopers was a part of their plan. But the basis of a rapid and successful operation lay with French Army units stationed in Germany and under certain friendly commands in France. Something apparently went wrong in this and other calculations.

Rumors persist as to certain American cloak-and-dagger agency promises to the insurgents. People who know General Raoul Salan maintain that a man as prudent as he would not have undertaken that kind of enterprise without all the chances of success on his side. The background of this putsch will take a long time coming out.

**DRAFTEES PROTEST:** For the insurgent generals, one surprise element on the debit side was the opposition of the French draftees serving their two-year stretch in Algeria. Details are lacking at this writing, but first reports tell of anti-putsch protest meetings in Algerian garrisons, of strikes and even of mimeographed anti-putsch tracts. It seems the failure of the paratrooper-to-France operation was largely due to the air squadrons' refusal to cooperate. The prospect of that last operation was what really shook Paris.

At 11:45 p.m. on Sunday, April 23, Prime Minister Michel Debré, in an anguished appeal, warned the population that the insurgents might attempt paratrooper landings in the Paris region that same night. "As soon as you hear the sirens blowing," Debré said, "go to the nearest airfield, go on foot or by car, and convince the soldiers that they have been misled." The instant was pathetic. It would have been ridiculous had it not been so grave.

This was the state, this was its organized strength: when it really came to a showdown, the government had to invite the "little people of the subways" (as Malraux had called them paternally) to go barehanded and plead with heavily-armed paratroopers as though they were a bunch of boys playing hookey.

**A NEW PARIS:** But Debré did not count in vain on the Parisians' determination to stand and fight for their capital. All that night strange things went on in Paris and in its suburbs. In one low-rent neighborhood, people were awakened by a car blowing its horn. In another, housewives mobilized their sleeping neighbors with a cooking-pan percussion concert.

In still another place the municipal band turned out at 2 a.m. to get the people out of bed. At the University students' residence, hundreds assembled in the big downstairs lobby asking for arms. Thousands all over town streamed into party and union offices. They had nothing but their hands and their number, but they stayed till dawn waiting for the paratroopers. It was one of those nights in which Paris could look at its revolutionary past and recognize itself.

"You will be given arms!," a throng of volunteers was promised at the Ministry of the Interior that same night. Helmets and boots were handed out, and the first peoples' militia units tentatively set up. (It turned out next morning that several members of pro-fascist "Jeune Nation" had accidentally been "enrolled" into the militia.) But before the night was over, the government got afraid of its own initiative. Arms were never distributed. Before enrolling any volunteers the following day, name, address and party membership were carefuly taken down.

**GIANT PROTEST:** On Monday afternoon, the third putsch day, 12,000,000 workers, office employes, civil servants and students all over France turned out for a one-hour protest strike. It was the biggest strike in anybody's memory. Three million strikers marched in the Paris and suburban streets alone. A few hours had been enough to cement their unity and overcome years-old fights. They asked for arms. At the huge state-controlled Renault automobile factory, the president, anticipating a paratrooper occupation, asked for arms for his workers. The answer was no. The government found armed workers an infinitely graver menace than the paratroopers.

On Wednesday morning, the right-wing **Figaro** warned: Beware of a Communist militia. It had nothing to worry about: the government had long since taken its precautions.

As early as Monday night, in the middle of the putsch, films of the afternoon strike were banned from the state-run TV newscast. Banned too was all news about the loyalty of draftees in Algeria. On Wednesday night, the day of the defeat of the generals' putsch, Debré in a radio address attributed this success "to De Gaulle and to the confidence the French people had in him." He did not mention the millions of strikers or the draftees in Algeria.

**A PAPER SWORD:** On Thursday morning, while ultra pro-putsch Paris papers **l'Aurore** and **Paris Presse** continued to come out unmolested, the Communist **Humanité** and several progressive dailies were seized. They had called for the maximum punishment for the insurgent generals.

**Le Monde** regretted that the right had played no part in the crushing of the Algiers insurrection and had shown only complicity, inertia or complacency before the plot against the Republic. It summed up editorially:

"The presidential special powers are only a paper sword if once and for all [De Gaulle] does not choose his allies and his adversaries."

It would seem that he had made that choice half a century ago and is not ready for a change now.

## Like the CIA?

CUBA HAS MERELY dramatized a problem that has troubled the President ever since the U-2 spy plane controversy of last year and before. This is how an open, nonconspiratorial society, with a free press, skeptical of secret government activities and power, can compete efficiently with a secret and conspiratorial society using all the instruments of subversion without having to answer to its own public opinion.

—James Reston in the New York **Times**, April 24


## A picture-story of the invasion of Cuba

**The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like the picture story of the invasion that failed on pages 6 and 7, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.**

NAME ..................................................

ADDRESS ..................................................

CITY .................. ZONE ...... STATE ..............

SUB SENT BY ..................................................

**NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St. New York 9, N.Y.**

# Civil Defense

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Wagner said the drill was "intended that the public learn the sounds of the civil defense air raid warning signals and react intelligently." As soon as Times Square was cleared, Condon went to a secret headquarters in Queens. There he opened sealed instructions which told him that a "bomb" had been dropped on Reading, Pa., and "a bomb of three megatons" had fallen on Plattsburg, N.Y. He was also informed that the winds were such that the "nuclear cloud" was carried away from New York.

**BUSINESS AS USUAL:** The instructions apparently didn't explain why "the enemy" should have bypassed New York for such unlikely targets as Reading and Plattsburg, or why only a three-megaton bomb fell when "the enemy" is known to have 20-megaton bombs.

In shopping areas people were pushed back into stores. Saks Fifth Avenue asked its customers through a loudspeaker not to doubt the store's loyalty. But since it was only a drill, "business will go on as usual." Near Macy's, the New York **Daily News** reported, "pedestrians simply stood close to the walls of the buildings."

Tourists at Rockefeller Plaza were confused by the sirens, the **Daily News** said, but "some foresighted and thirsty persons headed for nearby taverns."

At City Hall Park some 2,000 foresighted persons gathered a half-hour early to protest the drill. Most were younger than 30; many were students; and about 80 were of the carriage and stroller set, accompanied by their mothers. They had been called to the park by the Civil Defense Protest Committee, which holds an annual demonstration. This year's was the largest ever, three times greater than last year.

**52 ARRESTED:** Mothers with infants lined the benches. Older children played on the grass. Squeezed into the pathways were others with impromptu signs reading, "Bomb Shelters Are Tombs," "There Is No Shelter in Nuclear War" and "Civil Defense Doesn't Make Sense."

Squads of police were assembled and three police wagons stood at the park entrances. TV and newsreel cameras and a score of reporters and photographers were also there.

As the sirens sounded, Henry Hearn, assistant chief inspector of CD police, mounted a bench and said: "We wish you to take shelter and abide by law . . . If you don't take shelter you are subject to arrest." About 50 persons left the park. Police went through the crowd, making just enough arrests to fill the wagons.

They headed for CDPC leaders. Robert Gilmore of the American Friends Service Committee, Ralph Di Gia and David McReynolds of the War Resisters League and Mrs. M. Tjader-Harris were arrested. Police also singled out a few bearded youths and a banjo player. The rest were picked at random. Forty-four men and eight women were picked up.

**COURT BUILDING PICKETED:** While police were making arrests a group of young people sang **God Bless America** and then **We Shall Not Be Moved.** When the sirens sounded the drill's end, the protesters cheered in unison and held two fingers aloft in V for Victory.

Police were polite generally. They avoided arresting mothers with children, and young students. But when four students sat in front of a police wagon, they were picked up and thrown in.

Most of the protesters followed the wagons to Criminal Courts. A picket line of about 1,000 circled the building for an hour and a half.

About a dozen pickets remained until midnight when the last of the 52 were brought before Magistrate Julius Helfand. He released first offenders on parole and set bail for the rest. Trials are to be held from May 1 to May 22.

Two women, one in advanced pregnancy and the other holding her children, were arrested for refusing to take shelter at Central Park Zoo. Ten others were arrested in lone protests around the city.

**HONORABLE CRIME:** At Columbia University 500 students and faculty members from several colleges sat on the steps of Low Memorial Library. James O'Connor, instructor of economics at Barnard College, told them: "If you are arrested, you will be arrested only as political criminals, for you have committed no crimes against persons or property. Jails everywhere are full of political criminals. It is an honorable crime." Police made no arrests because the demonstration was on university property.

Police also ignored 150 demonstrators at City College. But school officials collected identity cards. They revealed that four of the group were faculty members. One was physics professor Harry Lustig. He said: "If I didn't join those protesters, I couldn't face either them or myself afterward."

About 50 students refused to take cover at New York University. There was no action taken against them.

At the High School of Music and Art about 100 students came to school wearing blue armbands signifying protest. Asst. principal Edwin Kane made the rounds of classrooms in the morning and ordered those with armbands into the corridors. He asked them to remove the insignia. Twenty refused and were suspended from school.

**OTHER ACTIONS:** In upstate New York colleges, there were protests at Cornell, Syracuse, Bard, Skidmore and Harpur College. In New Jersey, students protested at Drew U. and Rutgers U. Seven of the 70 at the Drew rally received summonses. Forty-five students and faculty members demonstrated at Princeton U., but they took cover against a wall when ordered by police. A visiting student from Antioch College, Ted Goertzel, 18, refused to take cover and was arrested.

Hundreds joined in small demonstrations throughout New York State; ten were arrested. In Spring Valley four demonstrators were arrested. Twenty-three protested in Rochester but 20 took cover on orders. Three who refused were arrested.

In Connecticut, two persons were arrested in Norwich and two in Middletown. Eleven persons refused to take shelter in Hartford and were arrested.

**WAY OF LIFE:** In New Jersey, there were demonstrations in Plainfield, Tenafly, Teaneck, Hoboken and Ridgewood. Twenty persons were arrested but police ignored most of the demonstrators.

Students at New Hampshire U. organized a protest in Durham at which 18 were arrested.

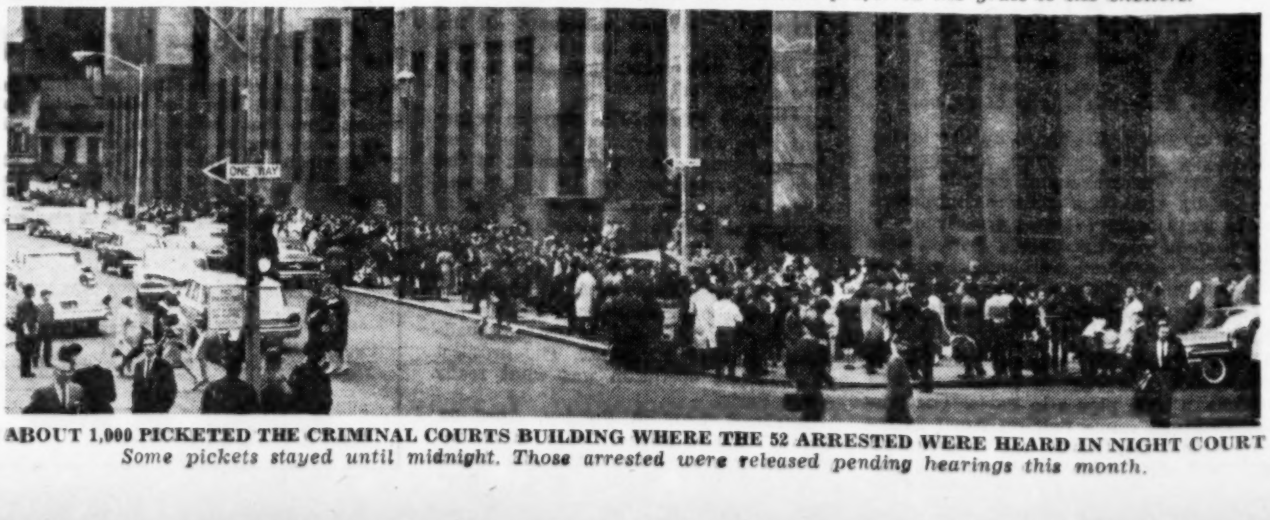
President Kennedy said in his CONELRAD message: "Common prudence demands that we take all necessary measures to protect our homes, our institutions and our way of life so that they can survive should an enemy thrust war upon us."

"Our way of life" seems to have survived Operation Alert. The only reported casualty was the $100,000 operating budget of the Michigan Office of Civil Defense. It was eliminated on Civil Defense Day by the State Senate Appropriations Committee. State Sen. Elmer Porter explained that the committee was irritated with the agency for hiring 21 employes without prior approval of the legislature.

Guardian photos by Robert Joyce

**YOUTH PREDOMINATED AT THE CITY HALL DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK**
*Nearly 2,000 persons were there; 52 were arrested.*

**THE DEMONSTRATION WAS TWICE BLESSED BY THIS YOUNG COUPLE**
*About 80 infants and toddlers preferred the grass to the shelters.*




**ABOUT 1,000 PICKETED THE CRIMINAL COURTS BUILDING WHERE THE 52 ARRESTED WERE HEARD IN NIGHT COURT**
*Some pickets stayed until midnight. Those arrested were released pending hearings this month.*

A FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

# Is Laos next? The lesson of Cuba remains unlearned

By Kumar Goshal

PRESIDENT Kennedy's major accomplishment in his first hundred days in office has been to arouse worldwide apprehension over U.S. foreign policy. And even as April ended there were indications that his Administration was contemplating a repetition of the Cuban misadventure in Southeast Asia. On April 30 the New York **Times'** Washington bureau chief James Reston wrote:

"This city is in a psychological spin over Cuba. It is full of men who want to 'do something'—anything to avenge the bloody nose in Cuba. Also, even in today's meeting of the National Security Council with the President, there were officials who, in their anger and frustration, were flirting with military moves which would transform the fiasco in Cuba into a disaster in Laos."

**PIOUS FRAUD:** There was no attempt any longer to conceal the Kennedy Administration's complicity in the Cuban invasion. The **New Republic** said (May 1):

"We had mounted the invasion, planned it, drilled it, finanaced it, delivered it; it was invasion by proxy. It made the public anti-intervention qualifications by Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson look cheap."

Speaking at an American Friends Service Committee meeting in Cambridge, Mass., April 23, H. Stuart Hughes, professor of History at Harvard University, declared:

Nicolas Bentley in the London Daily Mail

"All the pious fraud has collapsed. Everyone from the New York **Times** down has . . . admitted the fact of American intervention in Cuba. President Kennedy hasn't admitted his fault and, until he does, we have to withhold our confidence from him."

At a Cuban protest meeting of 400 Harvard students and faculty members, moderator Robert Wolff deplored the fact that "the men we used to have lunch with and thought we knew so well were behind this policy." Nadav Safran, asst. professor of government, refuted point by point the State Dept's. White Paper on Cuba by "an eminent historian." The reference was to Harvard Prof. Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Hughes noted that during the 1956 Suez crisis the British Labor Party had kept pressure on the Eden government and brought about a reversal of its policy. He said "it is time for a few resounding resignations" from the Kennedy Administration. He found it alarming "to see this man [Stevenson] who has been a great American reduced to the level of a shyster lawyer pleading a losing cause." The meeting endorsed, 327 to 12, a resolution urging the reversal of U.S. policy toward Cuba.

**NO RESIGNATIONS:** But in Washington and at the UN there were neither resignations nor reversals. After the failure of the invasion, Kennedy talked even tougher to the American Society of Newspaper Editors about unilateral action against Castro if other nations of the hemisphere stood aloof. "World-wide listeners," the **New Republic** said, "must have been agape at the incoherence of a U.S. leadership which could say on April 12 that the U.S. would under no circumstances send its own forces into Cuba and then about-face, unashamed a week later on no more logical pretext than that good behavior had not paid off!" Still later the President asked newspaper publishers to apply self-censorship—a move resorted to only in wartime. (See Report to Readers, p. 2).

In the last week of April, the Administration was reported to be contemplating several anti-Castro moves: (1) total embargo on U.S.-Cuban trade; (2) political and economic sanctions against Cuba through joint action with Latin American allies; (3) another invasion by exiles with U.S. air and naval support; (4) the use of military force against the Castro government if other means fail.

• Cuba can survive a total trade embargo. It has been buying mostly canned goods and medicine from the U.S., and the socialist countries can meet the need if necessary. Some 6,000 American cigar industry workers in Florida, however, would suffer from the loss of Cuban tobacco.

• Hemisphere-wide sanctions are implausible, since they would be opposed by Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and some others.

• Another invasion by exiles would be doomed to failure.

• U.S. air and naval support for such an invasion or a unilateral U.S. attack on Cuba would bring Soviet aid to Castro.

The last step was reported to be under serious consideration in Washington. Such an attack may be launched ostensibly in retaliation for "a camouflaged bombardment of the base at Guantanamo" (London **New Statesman,** April 21), although Fidel Castro has pledged to recover the base by "legal" means. Columnist William Shannon said (New York **Post,** April 27):

"A U.S. military attack on Castro before the year ends has to be rated a real possibility. There is a school of thought that believes Castro is growing ever stronger and must be smashed as soon as possible."

**THE CONSEQUENCES:** If Washington takes such an utterly reckless step, the consequences can be drastic. In the UN Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Zorin declared on April 26 that Moscow viewed the question of aid to Cuba more seriously than Britain regarded its pledge to Poland just before World War II. Zorin said: "If the Soviet Union says it will extend assistance, it will extend assistance." The Soviet Union on April 30 demonstrated its regard for Cuban Premier Castro by awarding him—and to six others, including Guinea's President Sekou Toure—the Lenin Peace Prize.

Washington's bellicose policy was being applied to **Laos** as well. **Business Week** magazine said (April 29): "Direct U.S. military intervention in Laos or even Cuba isn't ruled out under all circumstances." The **Times** reported the same day that the National Security Council, meeting with the President, was seriously debating "whether the U.S. and other members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization should consider direct intervention in Laos."

The reason given for such consideration is the reluctance of the U.S.-supported forces of Western-sponsored Premier Boun Oum to fight the Pathet Lao, and the delay in establishing a cease-fire, for which the U.S. blamed the Pathet Lao. Britain and the Soviet Union—co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference which ended the Indo-China war—on April 24 called for a cease-fire. On April 30 Premier Souvanna Phouma, whose government was overthrown with U.S. connivance, called for a Pathet Lao-Boum Oum conference on neutral territory to initiate the cease-fire.

**JUSTIFICATION:** Kennedy has attempted to justify his determination to overthrow Castro on the grounds that (1) the Cuban Premier has "betrayed" the revolution and failed to fulfill his pledge to restore the 1940 constitution and hold elections; (2) Americans lost their sympathy for him when he chose to join the Soviet bloc; (3) there was "evident and growing resistance to the Castro dictatorship" and "unmistakable signs that the Cubans find intolerable the denial of democratic liberties." To this list Adlai Stevenson added: "The free nations of the world cannot permit political conquest any more than they can tolerate military aggression."

These grounds are totally untenable. Castro's primary pledge in his 1953 "History Will Absolve Me" speech was to the Cuban masses for improving their lot. The restoration of the 1940 constitution was to be the means and not the end. When landowners and foreign investors demanded astronomical compensation and the U.S. put up roadblocks, he had to find new means. He has fulfilled his pledge to improve the lot of the peasants and workers.

**THE HISTORY:** Castro looked to the Soviet Union after—not before—the U.S. turned the screws on him. Washington treated him cavalierly when he came to the U.S. in April, 1949, with friendly overtures. Two months later the major offensive in the U.S. economic war against Cuba was launched by the American oil companies when they refused to refine—in violation of their contract—Soviet oil Cuba had purchased at a 30% cheaper price.

Shortly after, the U.S. reduced Cuba's sugar quota, and Castro turned to the Soviet market. The U.S. refused to sell Cuba helicopters badly needed to dust crops, held up export licenses for tractors and machinery, delayed Cuban fruits and vegetables in U.S. ports and advised tourists to shun Havana. Castro followed by expropriating large estates and giant foreign concerns and speeding up the progress toward socialism.

In contrast to the open support given later to anti-Castro forces, the U.S. had shown little sympathy for Castro when he was fighting Batista. The U.S. Immigration Commissioner disclosed on Jan. 2, 1959, that in 1958 one of his main jobs was to smash "attempts to smuggle arms to Cuba" for Castro. Until almost the very moment of his flight, U.S. officials were fawning on Batista.

**IMPLICIT ARROGANCE:** The solid mass support for Castro which smashed the U.S.-supported invasion was a telling refutation of Kennedy's charges that Cubans were resisting Castro and finding their condition intolerable. Stevenson's statement only revealed the arrogance implicit behind his courtly manner, which in plain words meant the U.S. reserved the right to decide what political and social transformations it will tolerate in all parts of the world.

Long in the Minneapolis Tribune
**Haunted house**

"Cuba before Castro was a green pasture for American sugar and oil corporations," the **Toronto Daily Star** wrote editorially (April 22), "a jackpot for American racketeers behind Havana's gambling dens and brothels, and a sunny playground for American tourists. But it was a mean country for most Cubans. In two years, Castro has given them much of the social revolution they needed, and that probably is the main reason why they failed to rally to the invasion of exile 'liberators'. . . . There ought to be a lesson in this for Mr. Kennedy and his countrymen, and indeed for all the richer nations."

But evidence to date indicates that Washington has learned no such lesson. For it is planning to use against the Pathet Lao and North Vietnam the policy that failed against Castro, overlooking the fact that their strength lies in the social revolution they stand for or have already carried out.

EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY

# Letters to Kennedy for Winston urged

A CALL for letters to President Kennedy, urging executive clemency for Smith Act victim Henry Winston, has been issued by the Bronx Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston.

In its own letter to Kennedy the Committee noted that Winston had been transferred to the Staten Island Public Health Hospital April 11 for new examinations of his eyes. Winston became blind because a brain tumor had been neglected by Terre Haute, Ind., prison authorities.

The Committee letter said: "Our last appeal for Henry Winston of some weeks ago brought forth the response from the Pardon Attorney, Reed Cozart, that President Kennedy will look into this case and let us know of his decision. No such answer from you, Mr. President, has reached us so far."

*Hurry -- Hurry -- Hurry!*

***Reservations are going fast for the GUARDIAN's***

EUROPEAN TOUR

**23 Days — July 28 to Aug. 20**

**GOOD NEWS!** Your host in Copenhagen will be Andrew Overgaard, trade unionist and Danish journalist.

**And in Prague,** the Guardian's George Wheeler!

**A 23-day tour conducted by Dr. Rowland Myers, lecturer and linguist, to Copenhagen, Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Yalta, overnight Black Sea voyage to Odessa and ending with four days in Prague!**

**Just $1,260 Complete—First Class All The Way!**

Send $100 Deposit to—

**GUARDIAN EUROPEAN TOUR**

**197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.** **OR 3-3800**

*News of victory reached many via loudspeaker cars touring outlying neighborhoods. The mother of a miliciano seizes a mike to make a speech to passersby.*

*When Fidel had time to fish, he used to like to go to the Cienaga de Zapata swamps. This was a pleasure trip of another kind: repelling the invaders.*

# Belfrage's report on the aftermath

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Nicaragua—to help them, they had settled on a strategy of mixed direct and indirect aggression.

**D-DAY, H-HOUR:** At 6 a.m. on the 15th [Fidel continued] came the B-26 attacks on airfields, and we said to ourselves: "This is the aggression." What we still don't know is why they didn't land the same day, but gave us two days in which to mobilize. They committed an error. We [speaking of himself and immediate aides] had adopted the habit of sleeping in the afternoons and not at night; but on Sunday night we had gone to bed following the funeral of the air-attack victims, and were wakened at 3:15 a.m. with news of fighting at the two Playas (Beaches) in the Cienaga de Zapata.

To give an idea of the sort of place they had chosen [Castro continued, indicating the area on his map] there were 200 volunteer teachers of the anti-illiteracy campaign in the Cienaga at that moment; 300 children of Cienaga peasants were studying in Havana, and the living standard was very high, with roads, doctors and work for all.

Perhaps nowhere in the world has more been done for a traditionally wretched and isolated people than there in the last two years. In contrast to the revolutionary approach, the imperialists were quite indifferent to the state of mind of the local population, but geographically the place suited their plan.

The Cienega has a strip of solid ground a few kilometres wide along the coast, but north of that it is completely swampy and impassable. Had they been able to entrench themselves there, it would have been the next best thing to the Isle of Pines [too well armed and fortified for sea landings] as a base from which to carry on a war of attrition against us. A very difficult position

to
it fr
with
whi
tank
tars

**NO**
carr
tal
airst
big
30-4
for
U.S.
men
mer

It
crou
hist
vasi
of '
the
awa

Th

*The wreckage of a B-26, brought down by a teen-ag... bomb Australia Sugar Central, on the road from ...*

*An aluminum disembarkation craft now under entirely new management. Peekskill, N.Y., subscribers can take a close look and see if this isn't one of that hurry-up shipment of a fleet of this familiar model from a local boatery in April.*

*Bringing in the "worms." Note the pieces of parachut... battle souvenirs. Also, in the background, left, the c...*

# ath of invasion

to attack, because you have to attack it from this highway across the swamp, with only three or four entry points which could be effectively defended with tanks, antitank guns and heavy mortars.

**NORMANDY WITHOUT DUNKIRK:** To carry out the plan they reckoned on total domination of the air, seizing the airstrip at Giron where they could land big planes; one of their ships carried 30-40,000 gallons of aviation fuel. As for arms, in no war has any unit of the U.S. army ever had the fabulous equipment per man that was given to these mercenaries.

It was indeed one of the most ludicrous things that have occurred in the history of the U.S. This mercenary invasion organized by the U.S. was a sort of "Normandy without a Dunkirk"—at the end of it all, nobody could even get away.

The landings began at 3 a.m. Cuba's

teen-age ack-ack squad when it came in to
d from Cienaga de Zapata to Matanzas.

six aircraft took off before dawn, and the same pilots—there were no replacements—maintained a relentless three-day attack on the invaders' ships. Three supply ships were sunk, and a number of mercenaries in the fourth ship hit by a rocket were drowned before they could reach the shore. Two Cuban and five invaders' planes were shot down on the first day. If the fight had lasted five days longer [Fidel said] not one of our pilots would have remained alive. The invaders' planes were constantly in the air and there was no explanation of where they came from since their base was supposed to be Nicaragua. [Castro seemed to be suggesting that they were using either Guantanamo or a U.S. aircraft-carrier.]

Meanwhile no planes were available to support the Cuban ground forces, who were not only engaged in fierce fighting—at first with only hand weapons against the enemy's heavy stuff—but under rocket, machine-gun and incendiary attack from invaders' planes with FAR insignia which they at first took for their own.

But by the last day ten invader planes had been shot down, and not another appeared; these "gentlemen" lost their enthusiasm for flying over Cuban territory. Cuba's few planes played a decisive role, and demoralized the enemy because all their calculations were based on mastery of the air.

**THIS WAY OUT, GENTLEMEN:** The danger has not passed [Castro concluded] and we think that now it is very great: above all, the danger of direct aggression by the U.S. It is curious that these gentlemen should still be so unaware, so irresponsible, so possessed by devils after what has happened: but if they dare launch another attack we must reply that an attempt to take Cuban lives will result in an incalculable loss of their own lives; and the day they attack Cuba will be the beginning of the disappearance of Yanqui imperialism from the face of the earth.

The best thing would be that they should not commit suicide, and that history itself should resolve this question and put an end to a system that is already out of date. For nothing is eternal, gentlemen. Imperialism must pass as feudalism and slavery passed; the exploitation of man by man and of peoples by peoples must pass. Who can place himself against history? Did nazism and fascism save themselves? How then can those who follow their methods save themselves, those gentlemen who speak with the same effrontery as a Goering, a Goebbels, a Himmler or a Hitler?

The people have savored this hour of triumph and great joy, but we must remember how victories are won. Eighty-seven men have fallen to guarantee the future of the fatherland, have sacrificed themselves for the future and for all the others. For the joy of tomorrow, generations to come will have to thank those who know how to sacrifice themselves today.

• • •

**AFTER FIDEL'S SPEECH** on how the invasion was smashed, Cuba's new-style revolution and its leader continued to make history by inviting captured members of the expedition to explain themselves on the nation-wide TV and radio. For three evenings the "liberators" followed each other to the cameras and mikes for questioning by a team of top Havana editors, and there were some dramatic confrontations between former Batista henchmen and Cubans whom they had tortured and raped.

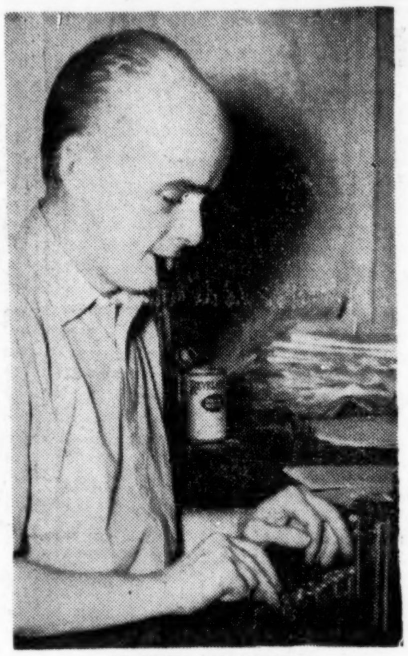
On the 26th, Castro made more history by confronting in the sports stadium over 900 well-fed, newly-clothed prisoners. The public jammed the rest of the stadium, and a free-for-all discussion between the prisoners and the Prime Minister was nationally televised until after 3 a.m.

"Idealists," former Batistiano mercenaries, rich men's and poor men's sons argued with him and freely fired questions in an attempt to justify themselves. The questions and facts he fired back with his great lawyer's skill reduced one after the other to silence or fervent agreement.

Without exception they praised the humane treatment they were getting, and a chorus of "Yes" greeted his question: "Did not most of you believe you would be killed upon capture?" Point by point, chapter and verse, he showed how in this and everything else the U.S. had deliberately deceived them. In their few days with the militia and en route to Havana, they had been able to see that the armed people—whom they expected to desert—were overwhelmingly behind their government.

**SOCIALIST, SI; COMMUNIST, ??** To a direct question about his government being "communist," Fidel said it was socialist and explained what that was: the huge private landholdings and industries had been given to those who worked them. He added that should the Cuban people want a communist government that would be nobody else's business. On the question of "democracy," he pointed out that for the first time in history prisoners were being given the opportunity to argue before the whole victorious nation with its prime minister. He asked how many ordinary Americans, let alone prisoners, got such an opportunity with President Kennedy.

A prisoner put the question to Fidel whether, had he been absent for some time in the U.S. and subject to its propaganda barrage, he too would not have joined the crusade to liberate Cuba. Fidel said that many Cubans in the U.S. had considered the facts more carefully and remained loyal, and "possibly I would have been one of those."



CEDRIC BELFRAGE
*Our man in Havana*

Allied with the worst dictatorships all over the world, the U.S. had sent the mercenary force from Nicaragua whose tyrant Somoza assassinated one of Latin America's greatest revolutionaries, Sandino: and "the Americans have never helped any revolution to liberate peoples from exploitation." Everyone knew they had aided Batista to the end, and their present aid to counterrevolution was obviously not for any concern about democracy but because Cuba had nationalized U.S. interests.

**RACE RELATIONS ET AL:** In discussion with one of the few Negro "liberators" about "what could have brought you here," Fidel turned to the son of a wealthy Cuban family (who had just said he came to fight for "his ideals") and asked if he belonged to any club in Havana. The wealthy white liberator replied: "Yes, the Yacht Club." "Did they allow Negroes in there?" "No." Fidel turned back to the Negro and said:

"So you can join this man to fight our revolution, but you can't bathe on the same beach with him—and he never worried about that but accepted it — as though your color would come off

*(Continued on Page 8)*

*parachute silk similar to the camouflage uniforms of the invaders, worn by their captors as*
*t, the charming cabanas built since the Revolution at Playa Jiron, the invaders' beachhead.*

*Victory Parade: the young people of Havana staged their own celebrations of the defeat of the invaders with happy marches in every district of the capital.*

# Belfrage's report

(Continued from Page 7)

in the seawater." All discrimination, he added, had been wiped out by the revolution.

Prisoners mentioned several claims of the revolution which they had been told in the U.S. were false, such as the turning of barracks into schools, the guarantees to small property-owners under Urban Reform. Fidel asked: "Would I be making such claims before the whole Cuban people if they were not true?" Landowners were allowed up to $600 a month from their property, and he asked a prisoner: "Did you ever make that much?" "Never in my life." "Think you could live on it, with your own house and car?" "I'll say I could!"

**HOW ABOUT ELECTIONS?** As an example of Cuba's type of democracy, Fidel described the present setup in rural co-ops where the **campesinos** run their own affairs including public order. In former days, starving under the extortions and terror of the police, the **campesinos** sold their votes and senators and representatives whom they "elected" became millionaires from graft. None of the "idealist" prisoners who needled Fidel about elections, who "idolatrize Yanqui democracy," could deny this.

"Do you," asked Fidel, "know a single member of the revolutionary government who is a millionaire?" Nobody did, but one prisoner said: "They say that you yourself have many millions of dollars in Switzerland." Fidel took this in stride, saying that U.S. papers could publish such nonsense but "absolutely no one here has the slightest doubt about

Hoy, Havana

the honesty of this government. Supposing the U.S. spent $10 million on this expedition, wouldn't they gladly have spent $15 million to buy us? Why didn't they try? Because they know we are not for sale."

**CHANGES WROUGHT:** In the days of electoral "democracy" there were a half million kids without schools, a half million workers without jobs, a million and a half illiterates, millions of acres owned by a handful of companies, fantastic rents, discrimination, and the common folk couldn't even use the beaches. In the Cienaga de Zapata where the "liberators" landed they had seen the changes wrought in two years by the revolution.

The invaders had all believed the people would welcome them with open arms; now Fidel asked them if they thought it would be safe for them to go out unguarded in the streets: "Would you like to go out and meet the people? Do you think the people would agree to that being done?" The answer was a great shaking of heads.

When Fidel asked, "What would be your attitude if the U.S. invaded Cuba?", there were cries of "We'd fight!" A prisoner asked: "If it happened, would the people allow us to fight beside them?"

Fidel said: "That's a hard question. The people would have to know your attitude was sincere—they are the top authority in this country. Furthermore there are criminals among you and those who would probably fight on the other side."

**DEATH, OR CLEMENCY?** He referred the question to the militias crowding the balcony, who replied with a shout of "Paredon!" (To the Wall) Fidel turned back to the prisoners and said: "You see what they think—nevertheless I personally think that to execute 1,000 or more men would be a belittling of our victory." He added: "You see what the people want—but right here I am beginning to put forward and explain my point of view to the people, that it would belittle our victory."

The session ended in the early morning hours with a prisoner insisting: "We are with the people of Cuba to fight against any foreign enemy who may come to trample on our people!" (Applause.)

PRISONER IN CUBA

# A Molina witness admits he lied

A LEADING prosecution witness against Francisco Molina admitted to Cuban authorities that at the urging of New York's Asst. Dist. Atty. Alexander Herman he gave perjured testimony during the trial. Molina was convicted of second-degree murder of a Venezuelan girl killed by a stray bullet during a fight between pro- and anti-Castro Cubans last September.

According to the Committee to Defend Francisco Molina, the witness, Humberto Triana, said he had lied when he testified he had seen Molina with a gun. Triana, captured in Cuba as a member of the invading force of counterrevolutionaries, told Cuban authorities that he and four other members of a counter-revolutionary group had gone to the El Prado restaurant, frequented by supporters of Castro, with chains, knives and guns to provoke a fight. Triana said that Jesus Artigas, another prosecution witness, had been released from a Guatemalan training camp by the CIA and flown to New York to testify in the trial.

Investigation of Triana's background disclosed that his brother is now serving a 25-year prison term in Camaguey, Cuba, for torturing prisoners while a Batista police officer.

The Molina Defense Committee has characterized Molina's trial as a frame-up pointing out that the case against him was based on the testimony of men who were his avowed enemies.


NEW YORK

Men's Clothes
Were sold at $50 to $75
We offer for only
$10 to $15
*Excellent suits and overcoats, some with slight imperfections that even your wife won't notice!*
- Also very fine suits and pants for boys in all sizes.
- Exceptional bargains!

HARRY'S Clothes Shop
"The Corner Store"
104 Third Ave., cor 13th St. New York City
— Open till 7 P.M. —

STONEWARE LAMPS
By the world's finest ceramists at our usually LOW PRICES
You Get So Much For So Little At
Pottery of all nations
108 7th Ave. So. [at W. 4th St.]
847 Lex. Ave. Midtown Man.
W. 137, Rt. 4, Paramus, N. J.
Hours: 10-10 WA 9-2666

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3. (11th St.)

RESORTS

HOTEL CAPITOL
*Livingston Manor, N.Y.*
"The Best Location For Your Vacation"
Modern Hotel, redecorated and improved. All sports — rowing, fishing, swimming, lake on premises, folk dancing, other entertainment. — SPECIAL: MAY & JUNE: $36 per week and up.
DECORATION DAY WEEKEND, $28 and up.
Call Livingston Manor 194 or 195

MAPLE VILLA
BUNGALOW COLONY
PLATTEKILL, N. Y.
'Garden Spot of the Hudson Valley.' A summer community with a full time supervised day camp on 75 acres of fruit land, only about an hour from N.Y.C. via Thruway to Newburgh. — Completely furnished with modern facilities. Two filtered swimming pools, all sports, fishing, dancing, TV, children's playgrounds, lakes & boating. Teen-age program.
Apple Blossom Festival & Reunion Sun. May 7.
MAPLE VILLA, R.F.D. No. 3, Wallkill, N.Y.
or Telephone Newburgh: JO 1-0848
N.Y.C. — HY 7-4929 or BU 2-2134

*Only 19 Rental Units Left!*
GOLDENS BRIDGE COLONY, Goldens Bridge, N.Y.
Progressive and cultural program for adults, including dance, drama, arts and crafts, and chorus groups. Sat. evening professional programs. 8-acre private lake, protected.
DAY CAMP — NURSERY — TEEN PROGRAM
Easy Commuting: 1-hr. to N.Y.C. by car; 1¼-hrs. to Grand Central. Directions: Take Saw Mill River Parkway to Goldens Bridge, turn right on Route 138 for ½-mile. Rental Agent at lake each Sat. and Sun., 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.
FOR INFORMATION CALL: OL 2-1990

NEW YORK

SPANISH
Native teacher. Intensive conversational method. Best on earth, designed to meet your personal needs. Groups no larger than 10 to insure fast program. AT YOUR HOME OR OFFICE.
Senor Caliban CH 3-6259

CHICAGO

IN CHICAGO
Insurance—Every Kind
Professional Service
Plus Personal Interest
LEON KATZEN
330 S. Wells Street Chicago
HArrison 7-5496

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO - FIRE - HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

Guardian Buying Service Saves you $$$—See the Bargains on Page 12

HELP! Inundation!
No kidding, advance reservations are flooding us for Decoration Day (4 fun-filled days) and summer, too. Better rush yours. Entertainment. Day Camp. Folk and Square Dancing. Filtered Swimming Pool, tennis, all sports. New air-conditioned bldgs. All with the people you like to be with—and low low rates. Hurry!
Chaits, Accord 1, N.Y.
Kerhonkson 3758

INSURANCE BY
THE BOROUGHS
*and Associates*
Rube & Madeleine BOROUGH
Julius & Florence KOGAN

5921 W. Olympic Blvd., L.A. 36
WEbster 8-9111

BAY AREA

Bay Area Guardian Angels
Join the Guardian Week End at Camp Monte Toyon, June 16-18
Beautiful Camp Monte Toyon (deep in the redwoods, 7 miles east of Santa Cruz) will be yours the week end of June 16-18! An exhilarating program of music, good food, sports, discussion and relaxation has been arranged, among friends you'll enjoy.
Adults $12.50 Students $10 Under 12 $6
*For reservations phone or write—*
MARGARET DRIGGS, 333A 7th Ave., S.F. 18 (SK 2-5988)
(East Bay) LEE COE, 840 Delaware, Berkeley 10 (TH 3-4382)
*EARN YOUR WAY—Join the Guardian's Sub Drive! One third of all the money you turn in before June 16 will apply to the cost of your Guardian week end!*

LOS ANGELES

List your property with us
- Homes - Income
- Expert Service
- Buyers with Cash
- Multiple Listings

Franchi Realty
706 No. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles 29 NO 3-9561

Robert & Valeda RANDOLPH
Recently returned from the Mexico Peace Conference and Cuba, will speak
FRI. EVE MAY 19
United Nations Hall
ILWU Warehouse Bldg., Loc. 6
160 Grand Ave., Oakland
Chairman: Paul Heide
Auspices: SONG
*(Supporters of the National Guardian)*

*Unitarian Public Forum*
"THE BLACKLIST AND YOUR FREEDOM"
*A Panel Discussion by*
- Gale Sondergaard
- Lester Cole
- Adrian Scott
- David Shapiro, Wash., D.C., Atty., and others

FRIDAY, MAY 12 8 P.M.
First Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St., L.A.
Question Period Don. $1

LOS ANGELES

Tip Top Typewriter Co.
2812½ S. Robertson Blvd. L.A. 34
Sales & Service on all makes including AZTECS and OPTIMAS at GBS prices. New and used adding machines. Office and school supplies. We pick up and deliver.
VE 7-5015 UP 0-3204

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
*M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell*
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.


### Discovery

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A friend recently gave me a copy of the GUARDIAN to read. May I say that my doing so was like taking a breath of fresh air. Never before in print had I ever seen such frank, clearsighted appraisal of things as they really are. Please keep it up, because now it will be for my benefit.

Stephen Wohl

**BOOKS**

# History stood on its head

THE LEGACY of the Civil War, by Robert Penn Warren,* is a prime example of the Humpty Dumpty School of historiography. It stands history on its head and nobody can put it together again. The book purports to deal with the economic, social and political influences the War has left with us but it makes no attempt to describe the mass action which determines this.

It takes the now fashionable line of explaining events by the psychologizing and intense fragmentation of the personalities and comments of the leading characters involved. It explicitly disconnects the War from the Revolution and the regenerating morality which comes out of it, thus breaking the clear trajectory from the Declaration of Independence to the Fourteenth Amendment. It calls the Civil War the real beginning of our national life and so ignores the sound thesis that the secession movement was a delayed counterrevolution against an established democracy showing signs of actually growing into a government of, by and for the people, black and white.

Our brand name society makes this, by fiat, an important book. Warren has won two Pulitzer Prizes, a National Book Award and his novel, **All The King's Men**, became an Oscar-winning movie. Lest these accolades of mediocrity be thought too prejudicial, it should also be said that Warren is one of the few first rate and serious writers of historical fiction and is maintaining, almost single-handed, the integrity of a form degraded and despised by critics as beneath notice.

WARREN'S VIEWS in this long and carefully wrought essay are difficult to pin down: they are centrifugal and if they have any core at all it is that the Civil War created out of revulsion from the colliding absolutes of abolitionism and legal chattel slavery a new America of continuous political pragmatism. This sort of thinking will get you nowhere but it is, alas, the fixed position of most of our scholars.

Unfortunately, it is not only typical of today, but almost an exact stereotype of the futile formulations of the liberals of the 1850's, who spent so much time deploring and watering down the revolutionary prophecies of the abolitionists and the counterrevolutionary threats of the slaveholders that they could not see what was going to happen next. One ends Warren's book wondering when people are going to realize that this nation's "legacy" of the Civil War is still in chancery and will not be collected until all of its citizens can go to common schools and vote a common ballot.

WARREN sets up his argument like a pinball machine and lets the little ball of his idea carom off points of illumination which are, in themselves, unarguable. He scores heavily off the North by citing W. E. B. Du Bois on Northern race prejudice, while ignoring the whole magnificent Everest of evidence this scholar has piled up against the white South and its apologists, like Warren himself.

He quotes Kenneth Stampp of Southern California, whom he refers to as "an eminent Northern historian," only against the North. He makes the amazing assertion that racism and abolitionism "went hand in hand," on the authority of one James T. Ayers, here called "a committed Abolitionist," whose name I have never encountered in 30 years' reading. He cites Lincoln, General Sherman and most of the Union Army as against Negro-white equality, correctly, perhaps, and then, also correctly, points out the frenzied efforts Northern politicians made to stave off and then negate the principle for which the War was being fought by assuring the South that the status quo would be inflexibly maintained.

EVERYBODY knows this, or has been taught this, but Warren claims that in spite of it the North has taken to itself a "Treasury of Virtue" which allows it to assume a self-righteous "phariseeism" toward the South. This may have been true in the 1880's, but today the revisionists in the mass media, instigated by their peers in the colleges, have so brainwashed the average Northerner that the "southern rebel" is the romantic embodiment of the American hero of action and R. E. Lee the American beau ideal.

The redemptive values of the Northern victory have long been forgotten and the actual payoff in terms of emancipation is completely obscured by the visible evidence that the Southern Negro is still in bondage to his skin, and that, as Warren himself says, the Civil War "did little or nothing to abolish racism."

**AN 1835 ILLUSTRATION FOR A WHITTIER POEM**
*Some historians now equate racism and abolitionism*

HE SETS UP another straw man on the far side of the fence, speaking of "The Great Alibi" by which the South "explains, condones and transmutes" itself out of its mass crimes. (Of course Warren always refers to "the South" as if there were no Negroes living there).

In five pages of great candor, decency and brilliance of insight he condemns it for the shame of Little Rock and New Orleans. Then he gets his pinball machine working again: the little islands of impact light up with dazzling quotes which leave a glimmering consciousness that John Randolph and Calhoun were, at heart, nobly soft on slavery, that Lee, the architect of the planned destruction of the Union, was "a Unionist-Emancipationist," and the Confederate government, while giving its life blood to perpetuate chattel slavery in its most explicit, constitutional form, actually, according to Warren, "implied that slavery itself was an evil."

This sort of romantic ambiguity about the real nature of the slaveowner's government builds the very soil in which the Great Alibi is grown and exposes Warren as one of the greatest apologists of them all.

BUT THESE flash points are only the outworks of his arguments and not to be taken too seriously . . . many of them are so solemnly erroneous that they may be dismissed, tongue in cheek, as the rhetorical equivalents of the wooden guns of his Confederate fathers on the Heights of Centreville. What is really dismaying about this work is its unconscious revelation of the plight of the American Scholar. They have no locus; they don't know where they are. They think they are developing the Jeffersonian mind, which, according to Stanley Elkins, "operates under the balanced tension created not only by a repugnance to the system but also by a commitment to it."

This simple schizophrenia Warren rationalizes into pragmatism, "the open approach to the life process." Speaking for himself he leaves you weightless in a void sealed off from the gravity of choice, with the tensions so balanced that you cannot move at all. In his flight from the inner and outer principles which he calls "disastrous absolutes," he falls into a trackless mire full of such contradiction and absurdity that it can only be described by repeating his own words as they are spaced out in this essay.

"BUT IT IS a very easy step to regard the War, therefore, as a jolly piece of luck only slightly disguised, part of our divinely instituted success story . . . the most obvious fact is that, for better or for worse . . . we are a united nation . . . in defeat the solid South was born . . . There is an apparent illogicality in the way the (elective) system operates . . . this illogicality, which appalls most foreign observers, is a logical product of the Civil War . . . the American is almost prepared to say that logic is the mark of the insane . . . Illogicality, like apathy . . . makes life possible, it guarantees continuity . . . We like the fog of politics, with the occasional drama of the flash of the lightning bolt that, happily, is usually nothing more than a near miss."

This then, is the Legacy of the War—national insanity . . . conscious and approved flight from reality, from reason, nothing settled, nothing gained.

—**Truman Nelson**

*THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Robert Penn Warren. Random House. 109 pp. $2.75.*

BOOKS

# SHOCKING!

***Fresh from Jerusalem, the scene of the world's most dramatic trial, comes this exclusive story***

## "THE PLOT TO SAVE EICHMANN"

**HERE is the story of one of the most dramatic plots ever disclosed—tinged with behind-the-scenes diplomacy, subtle pressures, carefully blueprinted moves to mold public opinion—the story direct from Israel.**

CAREFULLY screened forces in Bonn, London, Paris, Washington and Tel Aviv are moving with all speed in the next few days to prevent untimely and untoward disclosures of information by Eichmann of those "higher up." **Who helped Eichmann escape? Who hid him for 15 years? Where are his cohorts—the hunted and the hiding? Who is trying to save Eichmann and why? What moves are they planning?** These and other questions are answered in this exclusive story by one of Israel's promising journalists.

NO sacred cow is spared. Full disclosure is made here of persons high and low, with places and dates—as part of a master plan in THE PLOT TO SAVE EICHMANN!

**SO controversial is this account that the author has had difficulty in finding a publisher in Israel. We are privileged to present this remarkable analysis in the interests of public information.**

***Paperback 75c***

DOMINO *Publications*

**Suite 900 • 22 West Madison St. • Chicago 2, Illinois**

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

**YOU WILL WANT TO READ THIS IMPORTANT NEW JOURNAL**

*FREEDOMWAYS*

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE NEGRO FREEDOM MOVEMENT—**Editor: Shirley Graham**
**W. E. B. Du Bois**—The Negro People and the U.S.
**W. Alphaeus Hunton**—Guinea Strides Forward
**John Hendrik Clarke**—Journey to the Sierra Maestra
**Elizabeth Catlett Mora**—The Negro People and American Art
**John Pittman**—How Socialist Countries Help Africa and Why
**Geza Nabarsoui**—African Women Seek Independence and Peace
AND MORE 110 Pages in All
Single Copy $1 Sub. $3.50 Foreign $5

**ORDER FROM: Freedomways Assoc. 799 B'way, Suite 542, N.Y. 3.**
SOON IN BOOKSTORES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

*A MAN-IN-SPACE, DRAMATIC EVENTS IN CUBA, LAOS, THE SOUTH (U.S.A.) FRANCE AND ANGOLA!*
**Read The Great Books In This Age of Crises & Ideas**

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION
By Blas Roca

DECISION IN AFRICA
By Alphaeus Hunton

ALSO: A limited number of autographed copies of **Black Reconstruction**, by W. E. B. Du Bois, **Walt Whitman's Civil War**, by Walter Lowenfels, **To Be Free**, by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, and books by Shirley Graham, Philip S. Foner, James Allen, Elizabeth Lawson, Carl Marzani, Morris Schappes, Pete Seeger and Irwin Silber.

**Gala opening — WORLD BOOKS**

**747 Broadway nr. 8th St. Sat., May 6, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.**
**• Refreshments • Discounts • Gil Turner, Folk Singer**

NEW YORK

*CORRECTION!*

Last week's advertisement incorrectly listed Vols. I & II of CAPITAL by Karl Marx, at $1 each. The price is $2 each.

**JEFFERSON BOOKSHOP**
**100 E. 16th St., N.Y. 3**

# Gloom in capital

*(Continued from Page 1)*

of corporate thievery and perjury in the price-rigging conspiracy of electrical equipment firms—and Secy. of Commerce Luther Hodges dolefully warns of more "business scandal shocks."

Creeping advances on civil rights—not enough for the one and too much for the other—leave both the Negro people and the Dixiecrats unhappy. The labor movement is almost impotent, corrupted by the cold war and paralyzed by internal dissension and lacking any sense of its historic responsibility for a progressive society. Liberals in Washington find themselves leaderless against the frustrating rule of Congress by the reactionary Dixiecrat-GOP coalition. Worse, men whom many liberals counted as their leaders, Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. of the ADA, and A. A. Berle of the New York Liberal Party, were figures of central responsibility in the invasion of Cuba.

**CONSTANT ATTACKS:** Before the April 17 invasion, Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution were constant targets of jingoist attacks in Congress. Since the defeat last November of Rep. Charles Porter (D-Ore.), no voice in Congress dared even to be tolerant of Castro. A steady stream of warlike speeches, editorials and articles calling for action against the "Soviet satellite 90 miles off our shores" were inserted in the **Congressional Record.**

But after the invasion a virtual blackout on Cuba went in effect in Congress. Only two Democrats, Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, and Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.), made speeches on Cuba during the ten days following the invasion.

Sen. Morse made two speeches, a brief one on April 20 and a major one on April 24. In the first, he praised President Kennedy for his policy regarding Cuba and said: "There is not a scintilla of evidence that the U.S. government has intervened in the sporadic rebellion which has occurred inside Cuba." He had made the same point on Dave Garroway's TV program on April 18. The Senate speech was three days after the invasion started, and Sen. Morse spoke as head of the Senate Committee having special jurisdiction over Latin America. He proposed efforts to adjudicate U.S.-Cuba tensions either through the Organization of American States or through the UN.

**SHARP ATTACK:** Four days later, Sen. Morse made a bitter and powerful attack on the Kennedy policy in Cuba and took a strong stand against U.S. intervention. Sen. Morse accepts all the basic premises of the cold war and is totally hostile to Castro, whom he described as "an abnormal person who gives manifestations of many psychopathic tendencies."

But he also told the Senate: "It is very easy, in an hour such as this, when there are so many in our country willing to wave the flag into tatters, to join in the emotionalism of the hour and demand so-called United States direct military action in Cuba. I would suggest that might be the way to win a battle, but lose a peace." Morse bitterly complained that the Senate Latin Affairs Committee had not been consulted or informed and said that if it had been "there might have been a reconsideration of the invasion plans." What he had told the country on TV a week earlier, Sen. Morse said, was false "because subsequently the whole country discovered that what I thought was the policy of the Administration was not the policy of the Administration at all."

He said "there is grave doubt as to the legality of the course of action our country followed last week in regard to Cuba . . . Freedom is worth too much as a human system of government for us to surrender any of our freedom to a police state system in the field of foreign policy, dictated by denying to the people the knowledge of the facts of their own foreign policy."

**JUNGLE LAW:** Morse warned: "I know that the powerful preventive-war group in the United States will not agree. There are those in the United States who take the position this very hour that we should have none of this rule-of-law approach to the settlement of these problems, but that we should make clear the United States is boss, so to speak, in the Western Hemisphere, and lay down the law of military might. But this is the law of the jungle, whether it is practiced by the United States or any other power in the world." Sen. Morse said that if we directly or indirectly used our military power against Cuba, "we would be at least a half-century recovering, if we ever recover, the prestige, the understanding, the sympathy, and the confidence of Latin America."

No Senator responded to Sen. Morse. But a few minutes later, Sen. Dodd spoke in an all-out defense of President Kennedy's actions in Cuba.

**MORATORIUM ENDS:** On Thursday, April 27, the Republican moratorium on discussing Cuba ended. Sen. Thruston B. Morton (Ky.), GOP national chairman, called the Cuban invasion a "disastrous" error. He attacked the "self-righteousness" of Adlai Stevenson "in disclaiming any responsibilitty for the expedition and for the lack of candor and straightforwardness on the part of our government."

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

**"Why, Joe, I didn't know you was a Harvard man, too."**

Meanwhile, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) in a public speech in Arlington, Va., blamed both the Democratic and Republican Parties for the situation in Cuba. He called for unity on Cuba "forgetting politics," and praised President Kennedy for "what he's done and for taking the blame for it."

The moratorium on partisan attacks on Kennedy was the result basically of the fact that the Republicans agree with the action taken.

A number of partisan Republican sniping speeches, which have been withheld at the request of GOP leaders, can be expected.

**NEW CHAUVINISM:** But the overwhelming fact is that there is bipartisan unity for a tough anti-Castro policy. At least 90% of Congress would have supported President Kennedy if he had decided on direct military aid to the rebel invaders. For a while, the President's conferences with Eisenhower, Nixon, Goldwater and Rockefeller were thought to be aimed at national unity behind direct military intervention. With this prospect receding for the time being, these consultations with Republican leaders are now believed to have two aims: (1) to forestall bitter partisan division on the Cuban fiasco; (2) to perfect national unity for a tough cold war policy, not only on Cuba, but in Laos and elsewhere.

The foreign affairs expert of the Washington **Post,** Chalmers Roberts, wrote: "As to the mood of the country, if Congress is a sample, there is a new chauvinism now appearing. This seems to be born of frustration over everything from Cuba to outer space . . ."

NEW YORK

# PEACE RALLY

## CARNEGIE HALL

**Friday, May 12 8 p.m.**

***Report by*** **DR. LINUS PAULING**

***On The*** **Oslo Conference To Stop The Spread Of Nuclear Weapons**

**This Conference, initiated by Dr. Pauling and sponsored by Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell, Philip Noel-Baker and others, is being held in Oslo, Norway, May 2-7, and will be dedicated to the issue of nuclear disarmament and world peace.**

***Also:***

MRS. A. HELEN PAULING

JAMES HIGGINS (Editor, York Gazette & Daily)

PHILIP MORRISON, Chairman

***Entertainnent***

***Sponsors who support this rally include—***

Prof. James W. Alexander, Princeton, N.J.
Mrs. Natalie Alexander
James Aronson, Editor, National Guardian
Prof. Paul A. Baran, Stanford U.
Prof. Ray A. Billington, Evanston, Ill.
Prof. Brand Blanshard, New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Kenneth Burke, Andover, N.J.
Prof. Nicholas D. Cheronis, Chairman, Dept. of Chem., Brooklyn College
Dr. William W. Coblentz, Washington, D.C.
Prof. Charles D. Coryell, Lexington, Mass.
Rev. Dr. Henry H. Crane, Detroit, Mich.
Dr. William C. Davidon, Argonne National Laboratories, Chicago
Prof. Jerome Davis, West Haven, Conn.
Babette Deutsch, poet, New York City
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, author, N.Y.C.
Shirley Graham Du Bois, author, N.Y.C.
Rt. Rev. Clarence E. Duffy, St. John's Episcopal Church, N.Y.C.
Prof. Kermit Eby, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Franklin Edgerton, Laramie, Wyo.
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles
Rev. Milton H. Galamison, president, Parents Workshop, Brooklyn
Prof. Marshall Gates, U. of Rochester
Prof. Philip B. Hawk,, Miami Beach, Fla.
Prof. Michael Heidelberger, Princeton and New York City
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, N.Y.C.
Dr. Arthur Kornberg, Nobel Laureate, Stanford U., Calif.
Dr. Walter D. Lambert, Canaan, Conn.
Dr. Corliss Lamont, Col. U., N.Y.C.
Prof. Owen Lattimore, Ruxton, Md.
Prof. Chauncey D. Leake, Ohio State U., Columbus, O.
Prof. S. C. Lind, Oak Ridge, Tenn.
Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Curtis MacDougall,, Evanston, Ill..
Rabbi Israel Margolies, W. Englewood, N.J.
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Calif.
Prof. Broadus Mitchell, Hofstra College
Rev. Alfred D. Moore, Chappaqua, N.Y.
Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell U., N.Y.
Prof. Lewis Mumford, author, N.Y.
Dr. Otto Nathan, New York City
Prof. Charles C. Price, Dept. of Chemistry, U. of Penn.
Rev. Howard Schomer, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Jack Schubert, Argonne National Laboratories, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. St. George L. Sioussat, Wash., D.C.
Prof. Philip E. Smith, Stanford U., Calif.
Prof. T. M. Sonneborn, Indiana U.
Prof. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard U.
Dr. Edward J. Sparling, Winnetka, Ill.
Prof. Joel Stebbins, Menlo Park, Calif.
Dr. Joseph Stokes, Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor, Monthly Review
Rabbi Samuel Teitelbaum, Floral Pk., N.Y.
Prof. Ralph H. Wetmore, Harvard U.
Aubrey Williams, Editor, Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Ala.

**Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups**

**100 DAYS FOR PEACE**

**550 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N.Y. PL 7-5454**

**Enclosed find check for $———— for the following:**

Please send me .......... Carnegie Hall tickets at $2 each (General admission)

Please send me .......... Carnegie Hall tickets for $5 each (Reserved box seat)

NAME ..........................................................
(Please Print)

ADDRESS ..........................................................

CITY .......................... ZONE ....... STATE ..........

*(Make checks payable to "100 Days for Peace")*

# CALENDAR

## SAN FRANCISCO

P E T E S E E G E R sings at
S.F. RALLY TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMER. ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
FRIDAY, MAY 12 8:15 P.M.
LONGSHOREMEN'S AUDITORIUM
301 Beach St.
Prominent speakers Don. $1.
Ausp: S. F. CITIZENS COMM. TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

## LOS ANGELES

11th ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF NATIONA-ITIES, SUN., JUNE 11—10 A.M. on . . at renovated AMERICAN--CROATION PICNIC GROUNDS, 330 S. FORD BLVD. Enjoy a day with your family & friends under the auspices of the L.A. COMM. FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN. SPECIAL CARE & PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN. Adm. 75c. Children under 12 free.

AMERICAN JEWISH CHORAL SOCIETY
Morris Browda, Conductor
7TH ANNUAL CONCERT
SAT., MAY 13—8:30 P.M
Wilshire Ebell Theater, 8th & Lucerne Guest artist: KALMON BLOCH, Clarinetist (1st clarinet, L.A. Philharmonic Orchestra). Adm. $1.25-1.60-2.10. At Box Office, or call AX 5-0130.

## MILWAUKEE

Every Mon., 8 p.m. Intl. Cooking school: enzymes, cholestrol, cancer, mental constipation: Buffet and Workshop, 75c. Forming summer theater, writers needed. 2520 E. Belleview Pl. WO 4-9945. Sun. Dinner $1.50, Chef G.G. Goltz.

## MINNEAPOLIS

WHY THE INVASION OF CUBA FAILED Edward Shaw, Midwest rep., FPCC Labor Temple, 117 S. E. 4th St., Room 211
SAT., MAY 6—8:30 P.M
Adm. Price 75c. Students 35c.

## CHICAGO

FORUM, by JEWISH CULTURAL CLUBS
SUN., MAY 7—7 P.M.
at HOLIDAY HALL, 3812 W. Lawrence Ave. Forum will feature controversial, propaganda film, "Operation Abolition," of the HUAC, with comments by Mr. Arthur McEwan. Discussion & Question. Admission 75c.

## DETROIT

HEAR ERNEST GOODMAN, prominent atty. speak on: "AFRICA TODAY—AS I SAW IT"
Thurs., MAY 11 8 p.m.
CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
7625 Linwood (cor. Hogarth)
Mr. Goodman has recently returned from a tour of Africa & Europe & will include in his presentation his observations of the political & economic developments in East & West Europe upon Africa. Cont. $1.00. Unemployed & Students 50c.
Ausp: GLOBAL BOOKS FORUM.

THANKS & AN APOLOGY
Our thanks to the enthusiastic crowd of 400 Detroiters who made Sat.'s Friendship Fiesta a resounding success for Cuban-American Friendship. Our apologies to those who couldn't be served, get seats for the slides or find seats on the dance floor. We didn't expect or plan for this tremendous turnout. We're making plans for a forthcoming party at a much larger place to accommodate ALL the motor city's Fair Play friends.
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE, BOX 7762, DETROIT 7, MICH.

## NEW YORK

CUBA—WHAT NEXT?
Speaker Harry Ring, staff writer, The MILITANT. FRIDAY, MAY 5—8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.) Cont. 50c—AUSP: MILITANT LABOR FORUM.

METROPOLITAN FRAT. CLUB MEETS
FRIDAY, MAY 5—8 P.M.
Guests invited - - - Refreshments
ADELPHI HALL, 74 5th Av. Rm. 11-D

IRVING POTASH, former manager, Furrier's Union Joint Council, will speak on the latest developments and perspectives in the trade union movement.
TUESDAY, MAY 9 — 8:30 P.M.
ALLERTON CLUB FORUM
883 Allerton Ave., Bronx, N.Y.C.
Questions. Discussion. Admission Free.

J E W I S H C U R R E N T S
CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL DINNER
SUN., MAY 7—6 P.M.
THE BRASS RAIL—BAROQUE SUITE
Park Ave. at 40th St.
$6 Per Plate—Tables seat 10
P R O G R A M
"THE CIVIL WAR & ITS UNFINISHED BUSINESS"

- Dr. Philip S. Foner, Historian
- Rev. Milton A. Galamison, Siloam Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn
- Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Author
- Morris U. Schappes, Historian, Editor
- Award to Mrs. Daisy Bates
- Songs by Nadyne Brewer

Res: at JEWISH CURRENTS, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St. New York 3 WA 4-5740 Sat. 10 a.m.-5 p.m., call SH 3-7889; Sun. 10 a.m.-4 p.m. call AU 3-3183.

HORA vs. SHASHLIK: PLAY or EAT . . . or both, at 7th ANNUAL ALL-NATIONS PICNIC, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION of FOREIGN BORN, SUN., JUNE 15, Camp Midvale, N.J.

DR. LINUS PAULING
will report on the OSLO CONFERENCE of May 2-7 "TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS"
CARNEGIE HALL, FRI., MAY 12
Conference of Greater N.Y. Peace Groups
550 5th Ave. N.Y. 36. PL 7-6454
SEE AD ON PAGE 10.

WED., THURS., FRI., MAY 3, 4, 5
New Russian film, directed by Yakov Segal, "THE DAY THE WAR ENDED," a smashing drama of human emotions. AMERICAN THEATER (bet. Aves B&C) 238 E. 3rd St. CA 8-6875

**Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 50c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.**

**Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.**

The BLEECKER ST. CINEMA PRESENTS 3 WEEKS OF OUTSTANDING SOVIET CLASSICS

FRI., MAY 19 thru JUNE 1 (2 wks only) A TRIBUTE TO DOVZHENKO—A Retrospective Series in Honor of the Late, Great Poet of the Cinema, ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO, former peasant and painter, later gifted film writer and director.

FIRST PUBLIC SHOWONG of DOVZHENKO'S SVENIGORA, the legendary recreation of a fabulous Ukrainian folk tale that stirred the film world of 1927 and brought Eisenstein and Pudovkin to their feet with applause, Will be shown every day for two weeks, plus a DOVZHENKO co-feature on dates indicated:

ARSENAL (1929)—Fri., Sat., Sun., May 19-21; Wonderfully intense and imaginative outcry against war—not shown here publicly for 30 years.

EARTH (1930)—Mon. thru Thurs., May 22-25; World famous celebration of the triumph of life — Unanimous critic's choice for this series.

SHORS (1939)—Fri., Sat., Sun., May 26-28; A Rich Cinematic Epic of the Ukraine during the Occupation by the German army of intervention in 1918-19. With a notable score by DMITRI KABALEVSKY.

UKRAINE IN FLAMES (1943) — Mon., Tues., May 29-30; A memorable screen document of the battle for the Ukraine, a turning point in world history that the world has forgotten. Filmed by 24 cameramen who advanced with the army that drove the Germans out. Supervised by DOVZHENKO.

LIFE IN BLOOM (1948) Wed., Thurs., May 31-June 1; The story of Michurin, scientist who struggled to place science at the service of society. Musical score by DMITRI SHOSTAKOVITCH. "Truly beautiful"—New York Times.

Fri., June 2, thru THURS., June 8
FIRST PUBLIC SHOWING
Abram Room's BED AND SOFA—A Comedy on how the Housing Shortage of the early 20's affected Life and Love in Moscow; and A NIGHT AT THE PEKING OPERA—First public showing of this picture of the entrancing ancient theater arts of the Chinese known as "opera" (1959).

BLEECKER ST. CINEMA
144 Bleecker St. (2 blks. So. of Washington Square) OR 4-3210

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND FRANCISCO MOLINA invites you to a party at CASA CUBA, 691 Columbus Ave. (near 94th St.) SAT., MAY 6, from 9 p.m. until . . .? Dancing & Refreshments. Don. $1.

VACATION IN SPAIN
Sun., May 7-8:30 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 230 W. 16 St., Apt. 1-A. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Cont. $1.
Next week: VACATION IN ISRAEL.

BROOKLYN FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE showing of CUBAN FILMS
"Fatherland or Death"
"History of the Rebel Army"
at the Nautilus, 664 Baltic St., Bklyn. 1:30 p.m. Sun., May 7. BMT-Pacific St., IRT-Atlantic Ave.

YOUTH
COUNTRY OUTING • CAMP MIDVALE 3 MEALS • • • EXOTIC SLEEPING ACCOMMODATIONS TRANSPORTATION. . . . $8.25 . . . Sun. only $2.
Meet at 1 UNION SQUARE at 8 am.
MAY 6 & 7
AUSP: SCOPE, Rm. 1922, 853 Broadway, New York, GR 3-1560.

"LAST STOP"
Realistic Classic of Auschwitz
First Prize Award Winner
You must see it to believe it.
May 6 & 7—Sat. 7:30, Sun., 3:30
POLONIA CLUB, 201 Second Ave.
All Welcome! Admission Free!

## PHILADELPHIA

Phila. youth invites you to an ART & CULTURE fair featuring works & performances by young progressive artists. Cinema - Literature - Music at home of Allyn & Adele Rickett
3600 Powelton Ave., FRI., MAY 7
11 a.m. to 11 p.m. Ausp: Progressive Youth Organ. Comm.; New Horizon, Socialist Youth Union; Young People's Folk Chorus.

# CLASSIFIED

## LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

GUARDIAN READERS! If you need DRAPERIES, let me give you a FREE ESTIMATE. IT WILL COST YOU LESS for a truly custom-made job.
LEES CUSTOM DRAPERIES
600 N. Kings Rd. Leo Kramer
Eve. WE 5-8771

## BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

INTELLIGENT BOOK SERVICE. New and used. Diligent search for out-of-print. FREE LIST PREPARED IN ANY SPECIALTY. Let us make one for you. We specialize in social sciences. WRITE FOR CURRENT LIST IN ECONOMICS. Rowland's 138-50 60th Ave., Dept. G, Flushing 55, New York (BY MAIL ONLY) WE BUY BOOKS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

GLOBAL BOOKS
2nd ANNIVERSARY SALE
During month of May
Up to 2/3 off list price on many titles.

| (Sample sale items) | List: | Sale: |
|---|---|---|
| THE IWW, by Brissendon; | 5.95 | 3.50 |
| Hist. of Haymarket Aff. | 6.75 | 3.25 |
| Lincoln Dictionary | 3.75 | 1.25 |
| Race & Reich | 7.50 | 3.75 |
| The American, by Fast | 3.00 | 1.00 |
| Hist. of Haymarket Affair | 6.75 | 3.25 |

CHILDREN'S BOOKS, novelties & gifts. 4829 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. Suite 201, TEmple 2-9715 Come in & browse

SAVE WITH PAPERBACKS—11,000 Titles from 200 publishers. Every subject: Literature, Art, Poetry, Languages, History, Sciences, Reference Books, Psychology, Religion, Sociology, etc. Mail 25c for 132 page catalog. PAPERBACKS, BOX 206 A, VENICE, CALIF.

## SAN FRANCISCO

RELIABLE WATCH REPAIR SHOP
"We Live Up To Our Name"
Jewelry & Watches
I. Jacobson 548 Clement St.

## HOUSE FOR SALE

Westchester-Yorktown, good commuting. All year-round, 2-bedroom ranch, 1 acre, brook,, lake terrace, out & indoor fireplaces, paneled den, kitchen & livingroom, dishwasher, washer-dryer. Price $25,000. Call LAKELAND 8-6503.

## RESORTS

Yes, SPRING is inviting you to the "HILLBERG FARM"—
Reserve for SUMMER
Phones: Kerhonkson 8008-W
Kerhonkson, N.Y.

## SUMMER RENTALS

"A Colony Fit for You" on Route 17, Exit 112.—Now you can select a 2 or 3-room bungalow. Day Camp. Folk dancing instruction, other cultural activities. Tennis, swimming, all sport facilities. N.Y.C. phone: NI 5-0682 or Woodridge 835. Mirth Colony,—Mountaindale, New York.

MODERN BUNGALOWS AND APARTMENTS. Swimming, boating, recreation hall. Reasonable. Kerhonkson, N. Y. HALPERN'S BUNGALOWS, Phone: Kerhonkson 3412, or SP 9-7164, NYC.

Wanted, couple to share modern comfortable country home. Progressive community. Elegant countryside. Only 1-hour drive from NYC. Cool, plenty of room for privacy, including private flagstone terrace. Call ACademy 2-7792.

Country residence, Croton Park Colony, Croton Ave., Peekskill. Beautiful bungalows with all improvements, low rental. Integrated community. Call Peekskill 9-1072.

## COUNTRY CLUB

A COUNTRY CLUB FOR PARENTS & CHILDREN is being organized on a non-profit basis Members will get summer vacation or year-round living for $20 per week for room & board. Also other benefits. Write: Katchor 235 Tompkins Av., Bklyn, N.Y. CALL ST 3-6913. 7-8 p.m.

## SUMMER CAMPS

ADVISORY SERVICE. Information on CHILDREN'S SUMMER CAMPS, designed to meet your needs and budgets—FREE. Over 25 years' experience in American Camps and Camping.
Phone or write: RAY BARNETT
825 West End Ave., N.Y. 25—AC 2-2721

# NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

## MERCHANDISE

AIR CONDITIONERS
A few tax-exempt 1960 models left at 5% above carload cost. Prices as low as $115.50. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (near 14th St.) GR 3-7819 1 hour free parking.

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE! Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C. 856 Lexington Av. LE 5-9232
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av. WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd. MA 7-0444
Plainfield, N.J.: 311 E. Front St. PL 7-0111

MANY SPECIALS & BRIDAL GIFTS
Tremendous reductions on all imported and domestic gift items.
HELEN'S GIFT MART
287 Amsterdam Ave. (bet. 73-74 Sts.)

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
all items at terrific savings
64-piece set in Autchenreuter Bavarian China
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 74-75 Sts.)

J E W E L R Y
Lovely selections. For you, for gifts. Jules Brenner, 127 Macdougal St. OR 4-0840.

## HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

HOTEL ALBERT, 23 E. 10 St. N.Y.C. (near University Pl.). 400 modern rooms, kitchenette available. Full hotel & maid service. From $4 daily. Moderate weekly & monthly rates. Write for brochure or call OREGON 7-0100.

## INSTRUCTION

PIANO—SOPHIE SOLOTAROFF, teacher of Yalta Menuhin, Juilliard, Diller-Quaile. New highly effective method. Outstanding results beginners, advanced students. Pedagogy. Phone: TR 7-1541.

S P A N I S H
taught so that rapid progress is made. Groups of 10. Best method in the world. Native teacher. Will teach in your home or office. SENOR CALIBAN, CH 8-6259.

## SERVICES

A COMPLETE SERVICE
Investments, Insurance, Up to Date Programming
Jack Dworkin MU 2-7200

I N S U R A N C E
ALL KINDS
RENE M SCHENKER
292 Madison Ave., New York 17
MU 3-2837

IF TIRED OF MAPLE, WE CAN MAKE IT MAHOGANY OR ANY OTHER COLOR. Refinishing, Polishing, Repairing furniture in your home. FREE ESTIMATE. Call evenings IN 9-6827.

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS — done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. Hy 8-7887.

BAKER & SON DECORATORS
Upholstery, furniture refinishing. polishing done in homes and offices.
1680 Fulton St., B'klyn SL 6-1842

TELEVISION & AIR CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y
CY 8-0420

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Spring & Summer Weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties served anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantees — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

HI FIDELITY SERVICE
On Monaural and Stereo Equipment
Installation and Repairs.
Tuners Aligned.
N. Weintraub IN 1-7459

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service any time, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years experience
Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers)
Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hours) or BU 2-3398.

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons.
Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 PSC 768

CALVIN FORD—UNION MOVER
MOVING - - - STORAGE
Good used furniture for sale.
645 Allerton Av.
Phones: OL 2-6795 and 2-9033

TIME TO STORE YOUR FUR GARMENTS: If they are in need of remodeling or repair, the best place is MAX KUPERMAN, 315 7th Ave., OR 5-7773. You can also get good buys at $$ savings.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

# THE GALLERY

MORE THAN 300 U. of Chicago students showed up last month for a debate on the House Un-American Activities Committee, sponsored by Progressive Insight, a newly organized student group. William Mandel, a defiant witness at last year's HUAC hearings in San Francisco which resulted in a riot, was to debate with Navy Capt. Isaiah Hampton. But when Hampton was called away for maneuvers a few days before the debate, there appeared to oppose Mandel one Capt. Richard Landau, retired army officer and member of the Church League and Anti-Communist League.

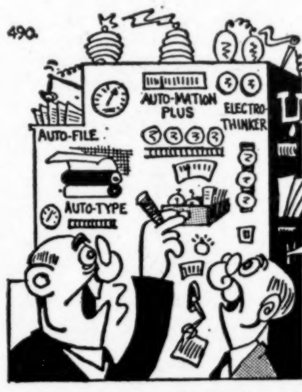
Mandel and Landau opened with short statements. Mandel had first rebuttal. While he was speaking, Landau rose and shouted: "I object. I cannot debate a man who has insinuations in every sentence." Landau walked out of the hall.

Apparently undismayed, Mandel continued speaking for an hour and answered questions for another half-hour.

The next day another group, Students for Civil Liberties, discovered that "Capt. Landau" was really an actor who had been hired from an agency for $25 by the sponsoring students. Progressive Insight leaders confessed that when Hampton canceled and local John Birch Society leaders could not furnish a replacement, they hired the actor.

They also admitted that they had written the actor's opening statement and that he had told them he planned a dramatic exit. The actor later told Perry Constas, director of student activities, that he was indeed a conservative and that he sensed that the audience would be in sympathy with Mandel. But he insisted that he walked out "as a person and an American citizen, and not as an actor."

HERB CAEN, columnist on the San Francisco **Chronicle**, wondered whether CIA stands for Confusion in Action . . . Jack Quinn said in the Denver **Post** of the CIA: "Of course, Cuba is not a very big place and the first thing that comes to mind is that if our agents are wrong there, just imagine what they can accomplish in an area like the Soviet Union?" . . . KRON-TV in San Francisco will show two and one-half hours of films on last year's demonstrations against the Un-American Committee hearings on May 12 . . . In the delightful typographical error department, the New York **Times** (April 22) reported that delegates to the Daughters of the American Revolution convention in Washington "joined hands in Constitution Hall to sing 'Blest Be the Tie That Blinds.'" . . . The **Times** also reported that in the plans for a new 21-story Telephone Co. building, "windows were omitted to protect employes and equipment from fallout and radiation." . . . Frank Burns of Imperial Beach, Calif., wears a full beard, which is taken for granted by folks at home. But during a trip east it caused him no end of trouble. A waitress in Denver would not serve him, he said: "She said they didn't serve communists." A hotel clerk in Cedar Rapids wouldn't rent him a room. In Cleveland, he said, "a couple of guys threw a pop bottle at my car. They called me a Cuban so and so."



UE Canadian News
**"And this little adapter will automatically take up office collections."**

—Robert E. Light

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

# AT LAST!

## *Our Soviet watches (ladies' models only) are here!*

GOOD NEWS FOR LES GIRLS—our long awaited Soviet women's watches are here! Sixty, count 'em—60—are on hand, thirty each of the two models below. More are on order and should be arriving soon, but on this first shipment it's first come, first served, and wise readers will get their orders in now.

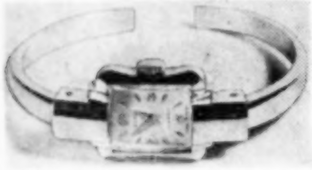
FOR those who have forgotten our original announcement, the Soviet Union is now the No. 2 watchmaker to the world, surpassed only by Switzerland. It manufactures for export an extremely wide variety of quality watches. All have jeweled movements and are not to be confused with the low-cost jewel-less watches so popular today and which are disposed of, like paper plates, when they stop working.

OUR GBS Soviet watches are unconditionally guaranteed for one year. If anything goes wrong with one during that time we will repair it free of charge (unless you drop it, of course).

A supply of parts will be maintained in this country, and a Guardian reader, who is a watch repair expert, will handle the servicing.

The two models shown are available now, so let us have your orders.

**WOMEN'S SLAVE — A tiny jewel (shown in photo, right, slightly enlarged). Dust-proof, gold-plated case, with a 17-jewel movement and stainless steel back. Runs 34 hours on one winding. Comes without wrist band—you can select your own ............ GBS PRICE $24.95**



**WOMEN'S SLAVA (Model "Kreb")—An exquisite 17-jewel rectangular model, stainless steel back, with an integral bracelet-band. Gold plated case ... JUST $29.50**

**GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE**
**197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.**

| Description of Item | Amount |
|---|---|
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

**Orders filled only in the U.S.**

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ..........................................

Address ..........................................

City .................. Zone ...... State ..............

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

**NEWSPAPER**

### Our Popular AZTEC and OPTIMA Typewriters!

FROM LOW-PRICED AZTEC "600s" (illustrated) to the deluxe **OPTIMA** and **AZTEC** "800s", GBS carries a complete line of portable East German typewriters. All machines carry five-year warranties on parts and service dealers are spread throughout the country. Feature for feature, dollar for dollar, we think these machines are far superior to other models in their price range—and GBS saves you as much as $55 over retail prices (the **AZTEC** "800" is currently selling in New York stores for $135). The **AZTEC** "600," "700" and "800" have key-set tabulation, 88-character keyboards with block type keys, finger-tip margin set, touch control, half spacing, and many other features. All machines are available in a wide range of solid colors and two-color combinations. Write for descriptive folders, or specify color choices.

OPTIMA SUPER Typewri
is letter was typed o
This typewriter is of
consumer.

### *New Script Type*

The OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE typewriter is now available with script type, as shown above, at the same price as our other Optima machines. Be sure to specify script type when ordering if you want this unusual face. ....**JUST $79.95 plus tax**

**AZTEC 600**—Formerly the Rheinmetal)—A "best buy" with all above features at a modest price **(Plus $3.6J Federal tax) $75**

**AZTEC 800**—The top of the line—segment shift (type bar moves up and down instead of the carriage), extra chromium **$79.95** (Plus $3.75 Federal tax)

**OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE** — The finest Optima machine. Specify leatherette or solid case **$79.95** **(Plus $3.75 Federal Tax)**

**SPECIAL NOTE:** For New Yorkers only, or those who can pick 'em up — we also handle the Optima standard office machine as well as Rheinmetal adding machines.

A NEW VANGUARD—

**VRS 1066** — MISCHA ELMAN PLAYS KREISLER; with Joseph Seiger, pianist. Mr. Elman plays ten of Kreisler's best known works. The Elman tone, reports the New York **Times**, is "magnificent . . . direct and solid." Included are **Caprice Viennois, Schoen Rosmarin, La Gitana.** ............. **GBS PRICE $3.75**

### Pure Silk Sari Scarves from Pakistan

Stunning 15" x 48" scarves of the same gossamer quality as the stoles, sold in such big numbers during the holidays. In black, white, pastel shades of blue, pink and green interwoven with gold threads.

**A real bargain at ..................... $2**
**(Minimum order of 2 for $4)**

# *the* SPECTATOR

## *The ones who said No*

*Among those arrested in the New York City Hall Plaza defense protest demonstration April 28 was Norval D. Welch, a member of the GUARDIAN staff. His account of his experience after his arrest follow.*

AS THE SIRENS BEGAN TO WAIL the cops moved in. "O.K., move along, take shelter." There was a general shifting of position as though we were all playing a huge, slow game of musical chairs, with only the women and children remaining obstinately on the benches. Off somewhere voices broke into "We will overcome . . ." Then there was the cop's gentle nudge, the order, the polite remonstration that he need not be so concerned for your safety, and TV cameras and a throng of reporters holding microphones in your face as you were plucked out of the crowd and hauled off to the waiting wagon. Wheeling through the streets, singing at the top of our lungs, we could see puzzled New Yorkers—still unaware that many of them had already been atomized—stop to listen curiously. "Junkies," one man said, as we halted at a stop light.

The cops were lounging around the dingy 5th Precinct room, coats open, feet on the table, playing cards, drinking cokes. They assumed a manner of studied casualness as we trooped in, forty-two strong, for we looked like a delegation of visiting professors—and indeed sounded like it. "What per cent of the crimes committed in a 24-hour period are offenses of **personal morality?"** one youthful demonstrator asked a policeman, "you know—drunkenness, gambling and so forth, as distinguished from crimes against property of another person?"

The answer: "How the hell should I know?"

IN THE TWO-HOUR WAIT before we were to be taken to night court jail we organized. Bob Gilmore, chairman of the Civil Defense Protest Committee, explained what would happen:

We would appear in night court. First offenders probably would be granted low bail or paroled until trial, while second and third offenders would be held in a higher bail. A lawyer had been provided, a picket line was expected to encircle the courthouse, and A. J. Muste would be on hand with money to bail us out. He hoped it would be enough.

There were several old hands—Dave McReynolds, socialist and Civil Defense Protest Committee official; Ralph Di Gia, a third offender and CDPC treasurer; Ralph Havey, a Catholic **Worker** who had been daily picketing the Civil Defense office at 55th St. and Lexington Ave.; Allan Hoffman who had left the California-to-Moscow Peace Walk to join the hunger strike at CIA headquarters in Washington and had stopped off in New York en route.

The rest were a varied and predominantly youthful group: two socialists, four CNVA'ers, Catholic Workers, three teenagers, pacifists, a couple of Communists, a Madison Ave. P.R. man, an art critic for a large Eastern newspaper, and two impeccably dressed youngsters who had no affiliations whatever, and were surprised they were there at all. One had had no intention of refusing to take shelter until he found a cop's hand on his arm, and impulsively said "No." He was concerned that his wife wouldn't know where he was—and indeed wouldn't believe him when he told her.

At 6 p.m. we were driven to the caves below 100 Centre St. and jammed 27 in one 10' x 10' cell, 15 in another. Though the police had liberated big Gil Turner from his guitar, our song nevertheless reverberated down the tiled corridor . . .

*J.F.K., get me out of this pokey jail,*
*an' get the A.E.C. to go my bail . . .*

IF THERE ARE NO ATHEISTS in foxholes neither are there political factions in jail cells. You understand, all at once, how isolated you are, one from another, outside. You discover you have just about no disagreement on Cuba, Laos, conscription, peace and the H-Bomb. The songs begin again:

*I got that opposition to conscription*
*Deep in my heart . . .*
*I got that civil defense is all nonsense*
*Deep in my heart . . ."*

At 9 p.m., the voices grow weary with the waiting and hunger. Books and magazines come out—C. Wright Mills' **The Causes of World War III;** Leo Huberman's **Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution.**

Some time after 10 we lined up in the corridor and were marched up two flights to the courtroom. There was another long delay while we waited for others to be judged—ten Chinese caught in a domino game, a few Negroes caught running numbers, a couple of drunks.

From his seat of serene objectivity the judge then addressed himself to us:

There was a New York Emergency Defense Act and we had defied it. First offenders were freed on parole with trials set for May 8, 10, or 12; Gilmore, Di Gia and McReynolds were found to have placed public order in jeopardy a number of times, and released in $500 bail. A. J. Muste hovered about with the cash, and at midnight we filed into the rainy streets where the pickets, remnants of a group of several hundred, still walked.

**—Norval D. Welch**

**WANTED:** ***Guardian "agents" on the campus; Write "Campus Program," 197 E. 4 St., N.Y. 9***